

The World Tomorrow

FEBRUARY, 1932

Christianity and Class Consciousness

John C. Bennett

The Disarmament Objective

John Nevin Sayre

If Europe Is to Live

Donald Grant

Whom the Gods Would Destroy

Benjamin H. Williams

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TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV

FEBRUARY, 1932

No. 2

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Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is
indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25;
foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should
be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City.
British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.
Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept.
80, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Appearing Soon

Within Fascist Prisons

Francesco Fausto Nitti

A Critique of the American Peace Movement

Norman Thomas

Pacifism and the Catholic Church

Herman Hoffmann

Needed: a Rubber-Stamp Senate

Robert Moulton Gatke

Preparedness for Peace

Lee Vrooman

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV

February, 1932

No. 2

Editorials

The Disarmament Conference

The situation in Manchuria, the intransigence of France and the change from Labour to Tory government in Britain, together with the continual rise of the Hitlerite movement in Germany, have all conspired to leave the world without much hope that the Geneva Disarmament Conference will succeed. Since it will be in session for many months there is of course a possibility that the present dark outlook will brighten before the end. Possibly the French elections in May will return a government more favorable to disarmament than the present conservative one.

From the American standpoint the most disappointing fact is that our own delegation is obviously going to the conference without any special plan and without any desire to assume the initiative. The substitution of Secretary Stimson for General Dawes as chairman may slightly improve the delegation, but even the presence of Miss Woolley does not make it a group thoroughly committed to the cause of disarmament. No one could have been chosen who symbolizes the peace aspirations of the American people more adequately than does Miss Woolley. But a single member of her type does not determine the moral tone of the delegation. The American group, as it stands, will be interested in the project of disarmament but will not offer aggressive leadership toward its attainment.

That this is so in spite of the tremendous energies expended by various peace groups in arousing public opinion to favor disarmament is a rather discouraging revelation of the futility of ordinary peace agitation. We do not say that this agitation and education has been totally useless. But it is obviously not going to produce large results. Perhaps the real lesson in this sad story is that all peace education fails to deal adequately with the economics of world peace. Little progress can be made in disarmament as long as the thorn of reparations raises the cry of injustice in Germany and multiplies the adherents of German nationalism, who in turn increase the fears of France and accentuate her reluctance to disarm. Europe believes another war to be imminent, and with such fears no nation will take the cause of disarmament very seriously. Armaments do of course aggravate fears and there would be some gain if they could be reduced.

But armaments are not the primary cause of fear and hatred. These spring from economic and social maladjustments which produce resentment on the one hand and the fear of a war or revenge upon the other.

If Europe can not make more solid progress in amending the Versailles Treaty by peaceful accommodation of the national interests left unsatisfied and outraged by that treaty, no disarmament conference will save Europe from disaster. Peace movements which attribute wars purely to misunderstandings and national bigotries which education may remove are taking too superficial a view of the matter. Only a very few peace groups, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, have combined a demand for thorough economic and political reconstruction with their cry for peace. Most of the other peace propaganda is futile and sentimental.

It is still possible, of course, that a moderate success of the Geneva Conference will avoid or postpone disaster in Europe long enough to permit those forces to work which are making for a readjustment of the economic and political life of the Western World. It would be foolish, therefore, to stop trying to bring to bear upon the conference every ounce of the weight of public opinion in favor of peace. If we can prevent a fire from breaking out in the old structure of Western civilization we may yet have a chance to build a new one unhurriedly and be saved from the chaos of another world catastrophe which, whatever the romantic revolutionists may say, will not automatically bring forth a new and more ideal world.

Taxation As An Instrument of Policy

Excessive concentration of wealth is a primary cause of unemployment. Our society is now suffering from the paradox of a huge surplus of producers' capital at the same time there is a tragic shortage of consumers' capital. That is to say, more money is available for investment in plants and equipment that can wisely be utilized in this country under present conditions, whereas the funds available for the purchase of food, clothing and other consumers' commodities are utterly inadequate.

Holders of great wealth cannot possibly spend upon consumers' goods more than a small fraction of their

income, except by riotous waste; hence the amounts available for investment are constantly accumulating. The fact that the great corporations of the country are controlled by small boards of rich directors enables those in seats of authority to divert an excessive proportion of the proceeds of industry into dividends, rather than to an increase in wages or a decrease in prices. Professor Slichter of Harvard in his notable *Atlantic Monthly* article cited evidence to show that dividend payments by American corporations in the depression year 1930 were 65 per cent higher than in the prosperity year 1928, whereas wage payments dropped 19 per cent during the same period. If dividends had remained stationary or had been reduced, prices could have been reduced or wages increased, thus making available more consumers' capital. This in turn would have increased the demand for goods and would thereby have increased employment, still further increasing the amount of consumers' capital.

Thus it becomes apparent that a more equitable distribution of wealth and income is essential to prosperity. Toward this end the double organization of workers and consumers in national labor unions and cooperative societies is urgently needed.

Taxation is another powerful instrument for determining the flow of the national income. Income taxes, inheritance taxes, excess profits taxes, and land taxes designed to absorb the unearned increment accruing in the form of rising land values, are entirely legal and exceedingly effective ways of reducing the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Governments—local, state and national—are now in desperate need of funds with which to meet deficits and provide adequate relief for the destitute unemployed.

On economic and ethical grounds alike, drastic increases in the rates of taxation in the higher brackets of incomes and inheritances are demanded. The argument that such a procedure will kill the goose that lays the golden egg will not bear close scrutiny. Orr's cartoon which we are reprinting gives an entirely erroneous impression. The inability of corporations to furnish sufficient jobs is not due to high taxation, but is caused primarily by their inability to find customers for their goods, which in turn is due to a shortage of consumers' capital, itself a result of the inequitable

distribution of the national income. The rich could be taxed far more heavily than at present and still enjoy an unjust share of privileges.

During wartime the highest rate of income tax in the United States was approximately 70 per cent. On this page we append a chart showing the yields in the tragic year 1930 if the higher brackets had been taxed at rates from 30 per cent to 70 per cent. These same rates during the prosperous year 1929 would have yielded over three billion dollars from incomes above \$50,000.

Even larger amounts would be secured annually by drastic increases in the higher brackets of inheritance taxes. If an estate valued at \$1,000,000 should be taxed at 70 per cent, the heirs would nevertheless receive \$300,000, a sum beyond the wildest dreams of most families. Funds secured by drastic taxation of the rich are desperately needed to cope with the appalling misery caused by unemployment. The ethical arguments in favor of compelling the privileged to share their abundance with the destitute are unassailable.

MAKING JOBS HARDER TO FIND



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Net Income Class	Number of Incomes 1930	Total Amount of Net Incomes	If taxed at	Would Have Yielded In Taxes	Lowest Am't Remaining After Paying Taxes	Average Am't After Paying Taxes
\$50,000-\$100,000	13,536	\$912,000,000	30%	\$273,600,000	\$35,000	\$48,000
100,000- 150,000	3,088	371,000,000	40%	148,400,000	60,000	75,000
150,000- 300,000	2,053	415,000,000	50%	207,500,000	75,000	101,000
300,000- 500,000	551	207,000,000	60%	124,200,000	120,000	150,000
500,000 and above	460	563,000,000	70%	394,100,000	150,000	367,000
Totals	19,688	\$2,468,000,000		\$1,147,800,000		

The New Terror in India

The British government has acted with such promptness in beginning its new reign of terror in India immediately upon the return of Gandhi and the Round Table delegates that one suspects the whole campaign to have been planned before Gandhi left England. This conclusion is, in fact, more than a suspicion because there is evidence that the India office practically told Mr. Gandhi what to expect if the civil disobedience campaign were renewed. The new laws, which make practically every activity of the National Congress illegal, will undoubtedly be administered with relentless force, and India seems destined for years of misery and bloodshed. Here, then, is the first fruit of the Tory victory in England. Whatever the weaknesses of the Labour Party may have been in handling the Indian problem, its policy never closed the door to the possibility of conciliation, while the new Tory policy practically dooms India to decades of warfare.

The English imperialists are of course moving quite logically upon the basis of their own presuppositions and it is quite possible that success will crown their efforts for a year or two. They probably reasoned among themselves that this was the opportune time to strike a death blow at Mr. Gandhi's movement. The Mohammedans proved themselves less thoroughly committed to independence at this Round Table Conference than they seemed to be at the previous ones. The depressed classes likewise inclined to disavow the Congress as their representative. The merchants of Bombay and Calcutta are less inclined to continue the boycott movement than they were a year ago and the younger element in Gandhi's movement is pressing for less peaceful means of seeking independence. There is a possibility, therefore, of doing serious damage to the Indian National Congress by this new campaign of repression. It is quite possible, though of course not inevitable, that the imperialists will succeed in destroying Gandhi's power for the next year or two.

But in this, as in other cases, the logic of imperialists is based upon shortsighted presuppositions. If they destroy Gandhi's non-violent campaign, they will succeed only in making a violent independence campaign more inevitable. They will pay a great price for their victory in the end, even if they win it. But there is a possibility that they will not win it even in the present. It is just possible that a new campaign of repression will solidify the independence forces of India, will create the vigor and unanimity which is necessary to crown the non-violent campaign with success. It is still too early to make confident predictions; but one prediction is safe, and that is that the Tory policy will bring unnecessary bloodshed to India and will further reduce the British trade there. It is quite possible that the British are sacrificing their last chance to be partners in the Indian

enterprise. From the standpoint of the precarious situation of world economic conditions, the British campaign of violence in India adds one more hazard to the possibility of an orderly solution of world economic problems and increases the possibilities of world-wide disaster in the next year or two.

Repudiation in Place of Cancellation

The American Congress has wiped out the last vestige of hope that public opinion in this country is intelligent enough to deal realistically with the debt and reparations problem. By attaching an amendment to Hoover's moratorium plan which prohibits any consideration of further reduction or cancellation of war debts, Congress has closed the door to every possibility of imaginative and realistic international economic policies. And there is no question but that it is speaking the voice of the American people. Once more America has repented a generous impulse toward international coöperation. Only a few short months after hailing the Hoover moratorium, the American people are crying, "Thus far and no farther." The cry is partly due to America's ignorance of world conditions and it is partly the result of the suspicion of the Midwest that Wall street is responsible for all this cancellation talk and hopes to profit by the reduction of political debts. The fact that private loans in Europe, upon which high interest rates are being paid, actually is responsible for the American bankers' interest in debt cancellation gives some justification for this belief.

Nevertheless the attitude of the American Congress threatens to place upon Germany an intolerable burden from which communism may offer the only avenue of escape. The only other alternative is a policy of repudiation on the part of European nations. It is not at all impossible that the economic conference which will soon be held, and at which America will not be represented, will adopt such a policy. It is being widely advocated in Europe, particularly in England. While repudiation of debts might sow the seeds of war between Europe and America in some distant decade, it would probably result in fewer evil consequences than any alternative policy.

Chancellor Bruening's statement of January 9, in which he tentatively suggested repudiation as an inevitability, may be regarded as the first step in developing world opinion in favor of such a policy. There is good reason to suppose that it was not made without consultation with the British. It is quite within the realm of possibilities that a great struggle will ensue on the problem of repudiation, with Germany and England aligned on one side and France and America on the other. The Germans have hitherto been prevented from suggesting repudiation because they feared the effect of such a policy upon their bond and stock market. The

pressure of necessity now makes this the lesser of two evils. Furthermore it is quite possible that they are being encouraged *sub rosa* by our own bankers and therefore give themselves to the hope that debt repudiation might not have such a bad effect upon their money markets as they have been fearing. The counsels of the bankers are more potent in the present moment than the words of Congress. From the standpoint of the world's most immediate problem they are not only more potent but more salutary, however much dictated by self-interest.

Generosity Emphasizes Injustice

Wide publicity has been given to the announcement that the Bethlehem Steel Corporation has agreed to provide work relief and a living wage for all the 7,000 workers normally employed at its Lackawanna plant. This action is so unusual that it constitutes a contrast to the accepted policy of discharging workers when it is no longer profitable to furnish them employment. This exceptionally generous procedure on the part of Bethlehem Steel, however, emphasizes in a glaring manner the inhumanity of our present industrial system. The "living wage" to be paid these 7,000 workers has been tentatively set at \$12 per week—or \$624 per year if the continued depression should make it necessary to maintain the plan for twelve months. Six hundred and twenty-four dollars per year a living wage! These 7,000 employees will do whatever work they are called upon to render and the total cost to the company—7,000 individuals at \$12 per week—will be \$4,368,000 for an entire year. We suggest that readers compare this figure with the amount of dividends paid annually by Bethlehem during the past two decades.

The Scottsboro Case

The withdrawal of Arthur Garfield Hays and Clarence Darrow from the Scottsboro defense because of the Communists' refusal to join in a statement promising to make the interests of the condemned Negro boys the chief concern of the defense attorneys and to engage in no controversies between the various groups which are interested in the affair, means that the case will now become merely a tool for Communist strategy. Communist doctrine makes it inevitable that the fate of the convicted boys will be made subservient to the cause of dramatizing the class struggle in America. This does not mean necessarily that the boys will be sacrificed to political necessities but it does mean that their fate will not be the main concern of those who are defending them. Considering the morbid fears of the South that Communism may spread the terror of revolt among Negroes, it is quite obvious that a purely Communistic defense for the boys greatly reduces their chances of acquittal, if indeed it does not seal their doom.

Not only from the standpoint of the fate of these par-

ticular defendants but from the perspective of the whole problem of race relations, the turn of events is unfortunate. Nothing will do more to accentuate the vices of Southern whites in their relations to Negroes than the fear that revolutionary doctrine is making headway among them. The days are past when purely liberal policies of conciliation between the races will serve the purpose of bettering relations. Conciliation which leaves essential inequalities, injustices and discriminations unchanged is totally unacceptable to the younger and more vigorous leaders of the Negro race and rightly so. On the other hand, the threat of violent revolt offers little hope for a minority group which suffers from the exactions of a great white majority. Both Negroes and whites who are interested in justice as well as peace and in peace as well as justice must find ways of resisting injustice and of dramatizing the consequences of racial inequality which do not accentuate all the evil passions and prejudices of those whose ignorance and bigotry create the race problem. Among all our major social difficulties, this is one of the greatest. Only a very wise and a very courageous leadership will save us from intolerable eventualities in our race problem. The economic depression alone is enough to aggravate all the evil factors in the situation.

Youth Attacks War

If American youth means to tackle the war system, as reports from many a campus indicate, it will soon learn that this is not going to be a "snap course." Mere declarations will not suffice. Students will find, directly they venture beyond recitations, an embattled host of patriots.

What a fortunate thing that as soon as the poll of the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council was announced, the National Guard levelled its guns at peace-minded boys and girls. And hotfoot after those who voted for disarmament and abolition of military training swooped a swiftly organized body of college vigilants, petitioning the President to ignore this "defeatist propaganda" and take "drastic steps." Opposition to war means conflict. The undergraduate pacifist had better learn this lesson early in the game.

A fine impulse to participate in the politics of peace was demonstrated at the Student Volunteer Convention at Buffalo. The proposal that a student be appointed to the American delegation to the Geneva Conference has caught the imagination, and the daydream of a schoolboy who carried a slate to sit among the delegates of the nations is more than a desire to shine. At the University of Pittsburgh ten colleges took part in an Intercollegiate Model Disarmament Conference. The Students' International Union is functioning as "ambassadors of youth to youth." The young peoples' meetings of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches are active forums

The National Student Federation is whipping up a belated youth movement against war.

Let them revel in conflict. Each time a group like the Seventh Regiment of the New York National Guard counter-attacks their attack on militarism there will be an opportunity to invigorate action for pacifism. Fighters for peace must train for struggle. Then, should the big test of courage come with another war, they will know how to stand up and say, "No!"

Fellowship of Socialist Christians

We welcome with enthusiasm the formation of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians. Its executive committee, composed of Roswell P. Barnes, John Bennett, Buell G. Gallagher (Chairman), Francis Henson, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Frank T. Wilson, has recently released the following statement of purpose and procedure:

The Fellowship of Socialist Christians is a group who are agreed in their conviction that a Christian ethic is most adequately expressed and effectively applied in our society in socialist terms. They believe that the Christian Church should recognize the essential conflict between Christianity and the ethics of capitalistic individualism. They believe that the evolutionary optimism of current Liberal Christianity is unrealistic and that social change fundamental enough to prevent destructive social upheaval will require a combination of social intelligence and ethical vigor not yet in sight. Remedies for specific abuses are no adequate substitute for the reconstruction of our economic order so that production may be primarily for the use of all and not for the profit of the privileged.

They believe that social change in the direction of the progressive achievement of social justice will not come solely through the ethical insights or the intelligence of the privileged groups. Recognizing the fact of the class struggle, they support the aggressive assertion of the rights of the exploited and the dispossessed, and work for the just development of the economic and political powers which these classes potentially hold.

They believe that it is not impossible to secure sufficient ethical insight among all classes of society to prevent the class struggle from issuing in the violence of class war; and they devote their energies to the achievement of justice by non-violent means. They see little prospect, however, of such a development if a constantly increasing number in the privileged groups do not understand the ethical implications of the present structure of society more fully, recognize the extent of covert and overt violence inherent in the present order and its maintenance, and strive to reduce the moral pretensions which now obscure the social realities.

The Fellowship of Social Christians therefore has the following objectives:

1. To work out the full implications of Christian living for our economic order.
2. To encourage one another in rigorous self-discipline in the matter of income and expenditures, in the effort to practice those principles in our present society.
3. To bring to the churches the conviction of the necessity of expressing Christian principles in socialist terms.
4. To stress the necessity for moral and religious resources for the change of heart and mind and will among all men of all classes.

5. To discover non-violent means of achieving social justice.
6. To coöperate with all religious or secular agencies which share these objectives.
7. To support the Socialist Party or such other party as may embody the purposes of socialism as the political organization most nearly approximating a political expression of Christian ethics for our day.

This statement emphasizes a fact which has become increasingly apparent to sensitive and well-informed persons, namely, that fundamental aspects of capitalism cannot be reconciled with the religion of Jesus. The Great Teacher who uttered solemn warnings against covetousness and the cancer of acquisitiveness would never give his sanction to an economic system which is based upon the motivation of self-interest and the method of competition. When the Kingdom of God comes on earth it will not look like capitalism. The vast chasm which separates the privileged from the unfortunate, the excessive consolidation of power, the high degree of irresponsibility exhibited by owners of industry, the rising tide of bitterness and class hatred, the increasing use of violence in industrial disputes—these are not only inherent in a system which eulogizes greed and competitive conflict, but they are obviously irreconcilable with the principles and practices of Jesus.

The motivation of socialism is production for use and not for profit and its method is coöperation, not competition. Public ownership and operation of water-power, natural resources, public utilities, and the major means of production much more closely approximates the Christian ideal than does capitalism.

Organized religion in this age has become deeply entangled with the capitalist system, as previously it was embedded in feudalism and slavery. That the sanction of religion be withdrawn from capitalism is highly imperative if the present system is to be transformed without violent revolution and if the churches are to avoid dissolution in the general wreckage.

The argument is often advanced that it is bad strategy for a Christian to call himself a socialist, so strong is the prevailing prejudice against socialism. The fact should be recognized, however, that it is the unavoidable fate of minorities to be labelled with epithets which are unpopular and which tend to obscure clear thinking. But if it is imperative that the sanction of religion be speedily withdrawn from our unethical industrial system, fear of being labelled should not deter us from following the course which seems wise and is urgently demanded.

If several thousand clergymen and laymen would identify themselves with the Fellowship of Socialist Christians,* and if a similar Fellowship of Socialist Jews could be formed, such minority groups would be able to exert an exceedingly powerful influence in the endeavor to disentangle religion from capitalism.

* Persons desiring further information may write to Buell G. Gallagher, 160 High Street, Passaic, New Jersey, or to the Editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

The Disarmament Objective

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

MAJOR VICTOR LEFEBURE of the British Army, with a distinguished career of war and post-war service in the chemical and munitions branches, has stated in a recent and extremely able book¹ the relation of disarmament to peace strategy as follows:

First, we must have international machinery for the solution of conflict by pacific means;

Second, we must reduce war supplies, machinery and trained personnel to a point where they cannot suddenly be mobilized and used on a grand scale;

Third, during the interval of *time lag* which technologically would be required to equip, train and put into the field a sizeable army, world public opinion and peace machinery must so function that a *casus belli* can be transferred, for settlement, from appeal to arms to arbitration by agencies of peace.

With regard to the crucial point of *time lag*, Major Lefebure holds that the popular idea of the possibility of converting dye factories into war chemical arsenals over-night is a myth. So with the conversion of peace-time airplanes, industrial factories, etc. Basing his argument on the wide range of preparedness experience furnished by the World War and on his knowledge of what seems to be possible in Europe today, he cites facts and figures to show that technologically a stage of world disarmament could be rapidly effected that would make it impossible for any nation to spring into war with another great nation within a minimum period of six to eighteen months. "In my opinion," says Major Lefebure, "for a country starting in a state of relative disarmament, the period in question is one of years rather than months."

In a word, if the Great Powers would apply to each other the same disarmament procedure which was applied to Germany following the armistice, and so continue, there would be real and effective disarmament in the world. Nobody could start a great war in a hurry. The peace machinery of the League of Nations, World Court, Kellogg Pact and other treaties would be set free for the first time to function adequately. For with the threat of immediate military aggression removed from every situation, the world's peace machinery could have such effective status among nations as, for instance, the Supreme Court of the United States has in relation to disputes between New York, Massachusetts and California.

Events in Manchuria since September 18 have emphasized in blood the argument of Major Lefebure. The world's peace sentiment and peace machinery was

confronted by a rapid series of military *faits accomplis*, while the passions and propaganda of Japanese war patriotism were aroused concomitantly with the "Forward March" of her soldiers. According to eyewitness reports, the Japanese Army was so well ready for action that when the initial fighting of September 18, on the railroad near Mukden, started about 10:30 P. M., the Japanese troops in Mukden left their railway zone before midnight of that same night and launched an attack on the Chinese city with artillery and machine guns. By noon the next day the Japanese had taken control of all of Mukden including the largest arsenal in the Far East. And ever since, they have managed by continued use of military force to keep the initiative in military hands and out of the hands of the peace forces. The newspapers in Japan have been furnished with military news at every critical juncture; and, through military censorship, the news from the front has been given to those papers which would support a strong policy and withheld from the papers which tended to oppose aggression. The consequence was to light in Japan the fires of war-time propaganda and in a few months put out of office a civilian government that probably wanted peace.

AT the same time the fears of the League and the United States to use any form of restraining sanctions were stimulated. It was feared that a threat of sanctions might be challenged by Japan's headstrong army and militaristic press. They might in a fever of patriotism go on to widen the area of warfare. Then the League in order to make good its threat might have to invoke Article 16 with a series of sanctions envisaging the possible employment of more military force and perhaps a general war at the end of the road. Naturally the League and the United States hesitated. And as far as the evidence now reaches, the world's peace machinery appears to have suffered a serious defeat.

It will be easy for many persons to draw the inference that there is then no safe defense for a nation against aggressors except it be armed with its own military machine, as ready to strike back and as efficient as is the military establishment of Japan. But on the other hand, there is a different way to read the Manchurian lesson. It can be taken as a text on the *necessity of disarmament and unpreparedness*. Unless we abolish all such preparedness as existed in Japan, no League of Nations, no Kellogg Pact, no World Court, no arbitration treaty nor any other peace program will enable us to enter the Kingdom of Security against War.

¹ *Scientific Disarmament*, by Major Victor Lefebure, Macmillan Company.

I COULD wish that when the Disarmament Conference convenes, the first words which it might hear would be those of General Smuts, recently addressed to the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He said:

In the World War we saw only the beginning of the vast difference which science is making in human affairs. In the next great war, if that is ever allowed to occur, science will, like some angry, outraged deity, go far to destroy mankind itself.

The next war will be unlike anything which has been called war in the past. The time-honored name of war would not properly apply to it. It will pay scant attention to armies and navies or to the other paraphernalia of war. It will go straight for the populations and for the immense urban aggregations which will be its sure target.

It will fight with new and unheard of chemical and biological weapons. It will cover the fair land and the great cities with poison and disease germs. It will saturate vast areas with a deadly atmosphere.

There will be no escape, not even for the statesmen and the war-makers, and a pall of death will rest over all. Even now the laboratories of three continents are busy with their deadly researches. And in due course some lunatic will press the button and the flower of the human race will be trapped and destroyed.

There is still a way of escape, but it lies along the arduous path of disarmament.

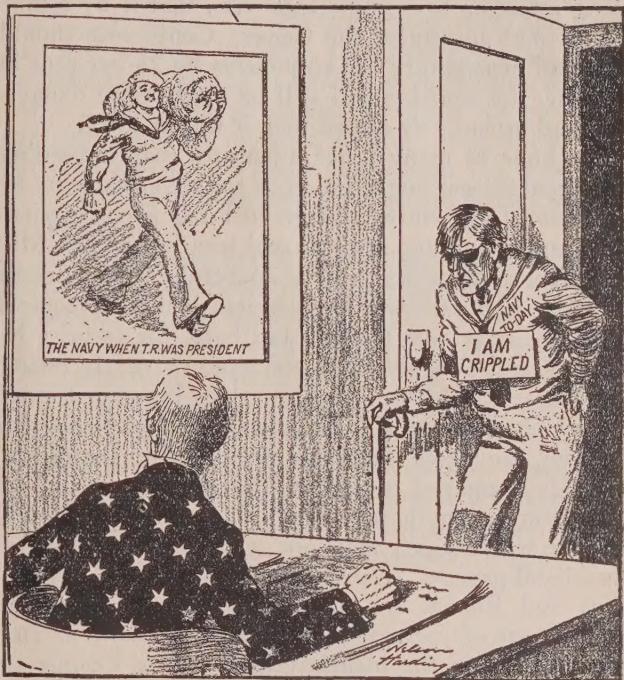
The realization of the catastrophe which the new armaments can make certain should dispel the illusion that safety is being achieved by such parity agreements and schemes of reduction as were arrived at by the Washington and London Conferences. For even if we grant that the Washington Conference in 1921 registered some real gains for the cause of peace, as I think it did, yet neither that conference nor any other recent disarmament meeting has contributed a single step toward slowing up the military time-table, toward reducing the speed or venom with which the military rattlesnake may strike.

Furthermore, the net result since the War of trying to reach disarmament by agreements for proportional reduction has not prevented an *increase* in the total armed preparedness of the world. In one way or another the various military and armament interests have so played upon the fears of governments and stimulated the appeal to chauvinism through the press that the peace groups striving for reduction of armaments by international agreement have on the whole been defeated.

President Hoover made clear this situation when he stated in an address last May to the International Chamber of Commerce that "the world expenditure on all arms is now nearly five billions of dollars yearly, an increase of 70 per cent over that previous to the Great War." A recent report very carefully prepared by the Foreign Policy Association¹ shows in explicit detail much

By Nelson Harding

"I Knew Him When"



Sighs Uncle Sam: "I knew him when He was the sturdiest of men; Who had his rightful share of wealth And necessary strength and health.

"Why, can this undernourished, lame And feeble seaman be the same Strong, lusty tar I used to know Ere Pacifism laid him low?"

—Through courtesy of The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph

Now Listen to T. R. Himself!

There are two immediately vital needs to be met: (1) That our navy shall at the earliest possible moment be made the second in the world in point of size and efficiency. We do not need to make it the first, because Great Britain is not a military power, and our relations with Canada are on a basis of such permanent friendliness that hostile relations need not be considered. . . . *Theodore Roosevelt, Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, p. 87.

When T. R. Was President

Year	U. S. Naval Expenditures
1902	\$67,803,128
1903	82,618,034
1904	102,956,102
1905	117,550,308
1906	110,474,264
1907	97,128,469
1908	118,037,097

And Now

1930	374,165,639
1931	354,071,004

¹ *The Burden of Armaments*, Foreign Policy Association Service, December 9, 1931.

of the growth of the world's armed forces. I have not space to quote the figures, but must content myself with calling attention to a single fact, viz., that if by a miracle of joint agreement the Geneva Conference should reduce all expenditure for armaments by 25 per cent in one year, the world would still be much more dangerously and expensively armed than it was in 1913.

The hope of many peace advocates that succeeding world conferences might go on to reduce armaments by proportional agreement enough to bring about a scientific disarmament and state of real security such as Major Lefebure describes, is very doubtful. The extreme difficulty to be overcome by this plan is that it requires that a radically new method and basis for security be espoused and adopted by unanimous, or nearly unanimous, consent. A single Power such as Japan or France or the United States, if it holds on to its isolationist nationalism, can wreck the whole works. And during the long delay required to educate the most backward or recalcitrant nation, there are explosive forces in the international scene which may not wait for a very slow educational process. Can it be supposed that Germany, China and Russia, for instance, all deeply smarting from the use of force against them since the War and disgruntled with the ineffectiveness of the League to prevent it, will wait indefinitely for the voluntary unanimous disarming of their opponents?

HERE is a possible way out but whether any Western Power, or group of nations, will be brave and wise enough at present to take it, is again a matter of grave doubt. However, the friends of peace ought not to be ashamed to invoke the world's attention to this way far more vigorously than most of them have yet done. The way I am thinking of arises from the experience of history that no great social movement has ever been advanced in its early stages by securing the unanimous agreements of large masses of men. A new idea or a new machine or a new way of doing things has to be demonstrated first. The man on the street is slow to believe until he has seen. And without pioneer demonstrations it is not probable that our world would have adopted radios or flying machines or electricity or surgery.

In the field of armament the same principle holds. How did we get our present efficiency in armaments? By the nations coming into conference, appointing research experts and striving for co-operative agreements for progress in armament construction? No! If that method had obtained we might still be fighting with swords and javelins. The big advances in modern armament were made possible only by pioneering exhibitions of armament efficiency. The illustration *par excellence* is that of Krupp and his successful development of testing-stations for big guns. The only way he could convince the German government, and later other gov-

ernments, that his type of guns were infinitely superior to all other types of artillery then in existence, was by building great proving grounds, first at Dulmen and then at Meppen, where the guns could be seen at work. Says Major Lefebure, "Only by demonstration could he convince the officials of the great muzzle velocities and ranges which he could offer, and compel them through crucible steel to adopt standards which without such proof would be denied and ridiculed."

In disarmament then, will not the same principle hold? A few affirmative experiments of such a nature are suggestive:

In 1681 William Penn received a grant from the Crown of a large tract of land in America. It was inhabited by Indians who along with their kinsmen were constantly engaged in warfare with the white men in neighboring colonies. Into this atmosphere of bitterness and suspicion came William Penn and his Quaker followers. They came and lived there without arms. They relied for defense on a policy of justice which led them first of all to pay the Indians such price as they asked for the land which had been already granted by the Crown. When urged by the surrounding states to make preparation for a possible Indian war they refused again and again, praying that they might "continue humbly to confide in the protection of that Almighty Power whose providence has hitherto been as walls and bulwarks round about us." For 70 years, or up to the time when the Quakers relinquished control of the Pennsylvania government and the policy of disarmament was abandoned, no Quaker in Pennsylvania who wore the distinctive dress and went unarmed was hurt by an Indian.

After America's War of 1812 with England, when preparedness measures were advocated on both sides of the United States-Canadian boundary, Richard Rush, for our State Department, negotiated a treaty with Great Britain disarming the boundary and the Great Lakes. From the signing of that treaty in 1819 down to the present time, all our disputes with Canada have been settled by peaceful procedure.

In 1900 war between Argentine and Chile seemed inevitable and about to break out. But the Bishop of Buenos Aires preached an impassioned Easter sermon on reconciliation. Across the mountains a Bishop in Chile was stirred to respond. Then these two Bishops with fearless devotion went from city to city and village to village preaching peace. They started petitions, and the petitions affected the two governments and averted war. A treaty of perpetual peace was signed, including the unconditional promise to arbitrate every future dispute. And out of the bronze from melted cannon, a great statue of Christ was made and placed at the highest point on the mountain boundary. Upon it is inscribed this pledge: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break

the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

In 1905 Norway seceded from allegiance to the King of Norway and Sweden. It was the culminating act of bitterness which had been growing between the two countries. Sweden had much the larger army and might have attempted to crush the revolt. But the Swedish King and government decided against this course. Instead they agreed to recognize Norway's secession, but on condition that a mutual treaty of peace be established and all forts on the border be razed to the ground. Last winter when I travelled in both those countries, every one said that friendship and cordiality between the two peoples had never been as great.

When Japan, in 1915, occupied the rich Chinese province of Shantung, China could not drive her out by force of arms. But a Chinese boycott plus diplomatic pressure by the United States and other powers finally caused Japan to withdraw. It took seven years but the procedure gained its end without resort to arms. Today similar methods are getting started in Manchuria. In the end they will probably prove more powerful than the momentarily successful armies of Japan.

In 1923 France invaded the Ruhr to collect reparations. A disarmed Germany offered passive resistance. Again world opinion functioning without arms contributed its pressure. In less than three years the French had withdrawn. In 1930, and again this year, Gandhi in India has opposed to British imperialism a disarmed force. Nineteen years ago he made his non-violent campaign effective in South Africa. It would be a rash prophet who would assert that within the next decade in India Gandhi's disarmed resistance cannot again be triumphant.

From all these examples and others, it may be seen that the vicious circle of armaments, parity and supposed security can be broken. Real defense of a nation or a cause can rest—indeed it must rest—on a more effective force than force of arms. And if the conference so soon to meet at Geneva should fail, and even if there should be another war, yet by these demonstrations of death and futility can the ultimate cause of disarmament and peace be pushed on. But now is the time for all true pacifists to lift up their voices and make their testimony reverberate in the international councils of the world.

An Experiment in Understanding

CHESTER H. ROWELL

WHILE the cables from the Orient, last autumn, were choked with the news of wars and rumors of wars, there was also going on in China, less noticed but perhaps in the long run more significant, the meeting of an unofficial institution of peace and understanding. At this gathering, Japanese and Chinese of real eminence in their respective countries, together with delegates of like quality from other nations of the Pacific area, were discussing helpfully, in peace, decency and mutual respect, the very problems over which their official governments were on the verge of war. This was the China Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Shanghai from October 21 to November 2, 1931.

It was the fourth of a series of biennial conferences of the Institute, which had met at Honolulu in 1925 and 1927, in Kyoto in 1929, and in Shanghai in 1931. It was a conference of 140 members and observers from Australia, Canada, China, Britain, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United States, the Netherlands, the International Labor Office and the League of Nations. At the next conference, in 1933, there will be members from Soviet Russia and probably observers from France and Mexico, thus including practically all

the peoples who live in or exercise sovereignty within the Pacific area.

Originally started as an experiment in Honolulu in 1925, the Institute has grown to be an important medium of unofficial, and therefore unhampered, discussion and investigation among the peoples and on the problems of the Pacific world. Besides its biennial conferences, it maintains a permanent central secretariat in Honolulu, group organizations in the member countries, and a research department which has added greatly to the knowledge of these countries and their problems. The conferences themselves are unique, not merely in their unofficial, though importantly representative character, but in their technique of operation. It is a fixed policy that the conference reaches no conclusions, passes no resolutions, and neither takes nor recommends any action. Meetings are for discussion, investigation and understanding. Decision and action are the function of the official diplomats, whose work can thus proceed on ground which the freedom of unofficial discussion has often made much clearer.

From the quiet and academic calm of its first two conferences in Honolulu, the institute found itself, by the invitation of the Japanese to Kyoto, in 1929,

plunged into the very center of all the most difficult and delicate situations of the Far East, including earlier stages of the Manchurian dilemma which has since engaged the attention of the world. The success of this experiment in Japan encouraged the Chinese to invite the Institute to repeat it in China two years later, and the China Conference of 1931 was the result. No one, of course, could have foreseen the critically difficult situation under which the conference had finally to meet. That it survived the test at all is in itself a remarkable success in that it keeps alive for a more propitious time in the future an institution of already demonstrated usefulness. When to this can be added a very substantial record of positive achievement, the Institute may well conclude that its method of approach to the problem of international understanding has been vindicated under the severest test it is ever likely to meet.

For a long time it was decidedly uncertain whether the meeting, originally scheduled for the beautiful all-Chinese city of Hangchow, could take place at all. The difficulties in the first stage were Chinese. These were finally overcome the very day the Japanese difficulties began, and these latter problems, in turn, were not finally met until, on the opening day of the Conference in December, Dr. Hu Shih, its president, was able to begin his inaugural address with the words: "This is the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations." What, until a few days before, almost nobody had believed possible, was now an actuality. In the light of the smoothness of operation, the harmony and almost total absence of incidents which marked this notably successful conference, it was difficult to realize the difficulties which had beset its preparations.

Short of open war, no more critical time and place could possibly have been chosen. Early difficulties were presented by the disturbed conditions in China. The great Yangtse flood rendered millions of people homeless, and concentrated the efforts of the nation on their relief. A portion of South China set up a separate government at Canton, and there were for a time threats of civil war in the north and actual hostilities in the interior. Certain political factions not averse to embarrassing the Nanking regime, chose this occasion for starting a crusade against the Institute, which was known to be approved by the government. Local *tang pu*, none too loyal to the central *Kuomintang* of which they were ostensibly units, dubbed it an "imperialist" organization, dominated by foreigners, which ought not to be allowed to pollute with its feet the soil of China. The Nationalist government, which had from the beginning strongly supported the Institute, took firm though tardy measures to combat this opposition, which then subsided.

THE very day this Chinese political situation was finally cleared and the way for the conference seemed smooth, came the "incident" of September 18-19

in Mukden and the situation in Manchuria which followed. Feelings in both Japan and China were aroused, and it seemed for a time doubtful whether either Chinese or Japanese members could fruitfully meet for helpful discussions on the soil of either country. On the other hand, members from the more distant countries were already on the sea and would in due time disembark at Shanghai. Plans were therefore considered for informal gatherings of such persons as might attend, but not as an official Institute conference, to discuss such questions as might be appropriate under these conditions.

There were, however, members of both the Chinese and the Japanese Councils who, in the light of former experience, felt that this time, when all ordinary discussion of the issues was clouded by controversy, was just the occasion to apply the tested technique of the Institute. Their counsel finally prevailed; the Japanese group expressed its readiness to meet in China, and the China Council assured them of its cordial hospitality. The meeting was held in Shanghai, instead of Hangchow, but the entire Institute visited Hangchow for one day.

The spirit of the meeting was expressed in the opening address of Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese philosopher and scholar:

Dare we give up thinking in the face of great emotional upheavals, in times of national crises? The opening of this conference will long be remembered as having set up a splendid precedent that all who in peaceful times pride themselves as being internationally-minded must not desert the ideal of calm thinking, patient research and open-minded discussion at a time when folly reigns and passions carry the day.

To think for a nation or nations is a most sacred trust and a most perilous task. It is a task in which, in the words of a Chinese sage, 'One word may build up a nation, and one word may ruin an empire.' We are here neither to laugh nor to cry, but to understand. It is only in the spirit of the humble seeker after truth that we may hope to achieve at least a small measure of success.

While the Conference was unofficial, it received official recognition by messages of greetings from the heads of the governments of all the peoples represented—from the Prime Minister of Australia, the Prime Minister of Canada, the President of the National Government of China, the Premier of Japan, the British Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the President of the Philippine Senate, and the President of the United States.

WHILE popular interest centers, of course, on the Manchurian controversy, which was fully and freely discussed, the Conference was by no means confined to this subject. The subjects for the round-tables and general meetings of the first four days were "Trade Relations in the Pacific" and "China's Economic Development." On trade relations, the principal questions were tariffs and silver. A special round-table on the

subject of silver brought some of the leading financial authorities of the Orient together with western economists for an exceptionally brilliant conference.

Discussions of China's economic development included agricultural problems, such as the need for education in scientific methods; coöperation and credit facilities; the utilization of uplands theoretically suitable for pasturage, but now used chiefly to raise grass for fuel; the consolidation of strip holdings, and the development of small rural industries. The social effects of the growing capitalistic industrialization of China, and the communist experiments now being tried in certain sections were also considered. Under the topics "Labor Problems" and "Standards of Living" there were discussions of the new factory law of China, the effect of emigration and immigration on standards of living, and the probable ultimate solution of population problems by limitation of the birth rate, either natural or intentional.

On the delicate subject of Manchuria, the traditional technique of the Institute was vindicated by the fine spirit and the objective, fact-finding approach to the topic. It was demonstrated that, even in this time of stress, Chinese and Japanese of information and good will could discuss these questions, not only calmly, but helpfully and constructively, under the Institute's traditional policy of seeking the understanding of varying views, rather than the victory of one view over another.

Full explanations were given of both the Chinese and the Japanese standpoints toward their respective interests in Manchuria and of their respective attitudes toward the competency of the League of Nations to deal with the problem. Suggestions were made by members that it might be well for the Secretariat of the League to establish a branch or affiliated office in the Orient, and for the Council itself to hold an occasional meeting there. Suggestions were also made of possible ways to meet the deadlock of policies then prevailing, all of which have since proved futile. Under the Institute's policy, of course, no decisions or recommendations were made, in this or any other subject.

Other questions concerning the foreign relations of China included the property rights of aliens, the status of Koreans in Manchuria, extraterritoriality, and the Feetham report on Shanghai. There were also special round-tables on dependencies and native peoples, coastal and river navigation, migration and race problems, and on the policies of the Institute itself.

If this mere list of topics seems formidable enough, even without taking space to outline the discussions of them, the question still arises—of what use is it to travel half way around the world to discuss such questions if you are resolved in advance not to do anything about them or even to reach any conclusions on them? One answer is that, while the Institute itself can take no action nor make any decisions, there is nothing to pre-

vent its individual members from doing so, in their respective countries, and many of them are men of such position that they can render very important service in this respect. One result of the China Conference is the existence of a considerable body of influential men in both China and Japan who have already tried each other out, in an academic discussion of the Manchurian crisis, and who would be able, if needed, to conduct the preliminary unofficial conversations preparatory to the official negotiations that would follow.

But primarily, the purpose of the Institute is not action, but understanding. And this can best be reached by those who do not have the responsibility of making decisions. When understanding has been attained, action is easier and is more likely to be wise. At any rate the Institute of Pacific Relations is one "experiment in understanding" already established and tested in the most rapidly changing area of the world.

"Comfort Ye, My People"

A VOICE cries from the wilderness, saying:
"Now must you try yourselves;
The gods are weary—tired of merely praying."

We have not tried ourselves.
We are our lone damnation
And our own salvation.
Arise; let us be trying ourselves.

JONATHAN HENDERSON BROOKS

Ultimate Mecca

THROUGH years that are unreckoned,
Through tropic sun, and sleet,
At tortoise-pace we've risen
To stand on human feet.

How long before we bury
Caste and vengeful creed
And declare that men are children
Of but a common seed,

That the priest within his temple
And the king upon his throne
Are no better than the heaver
Of humble quarry stone?

So, on to years of triumph
When wonders will astound
And men shall walk as comrades
With earth a holy ground!

LUCIA TRENT

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Farm Income Drops Two Billions

Secretary Hyde reports that the net income of farmers in the United States in 1930 dropped to \$4,669,000,000 from \$6,751,000,000 in 1929, leaving only 573 millions as a return on capital and management.

Underemployment!

Recent figures published by the National Industrial Conference Board revealed that only 37 per cent of the workers of the country were employed as much as 44 hours per week, while only 15 per cent worked 48 hours per week.

Lynchings in 1931

Thirteen persons were lynched in the United States during 1931, according to figures compiled by Tuskegee Institute. Ten of the victims were Negroes and one was a white man. There were 57 instances of attempting lynchings which were frustrated by officers of the law, thus saving the lives of 88 persons.

Colleges Cost Less Than Armed Preparedness

The United States Office of Education reports that American colleges and universities, public and private, spent 563 million dollars for higher education during 1930—or approximately 140 millions less than the amount spent on the upkeep of the United States Army and Navy for that year.

Radio Tyranny

Radio Station W G R in Buffalo recently cancelled a contract with the Reverend Herman I. Hahn and denied him access to the air because he refused to alter the copy of a sermon to which the local management objected. Rev. Hahn is a Socialist and has long been a source of annoyance to supporters of the present economic order. The American Civil Liberties Union has issued a formal protest to W G R and to the Federal Radio Commission.

Tackling the Population Problem

The first Polish Birth Control Clinic was opened in September. A clinic in Shanghai has been established by the Birth Control League of Shanghai and is carrying on very successfully under adverse conditions. The state of Mysore in India has approved the giving of contraceptive information to married women. In Germany an International Workers Center for Birth Control has been formed with branches in other countries including Norway, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Press Locarno

We are informed by the *International Fellowship of Reconciliation Bulletin* that in order to prevent the spread of false information the press associations of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia pledged themselves not to make use of slanderous news about any one of the three states, and also in questions of special importance to rely upon direct news, rejecting news via a third country. A Lithuanian paper points out that a general Press Locarno under the aegis of the League of Nations is needed.

Socialism in Action

Seventeen states of the Union now have old age pension laws.

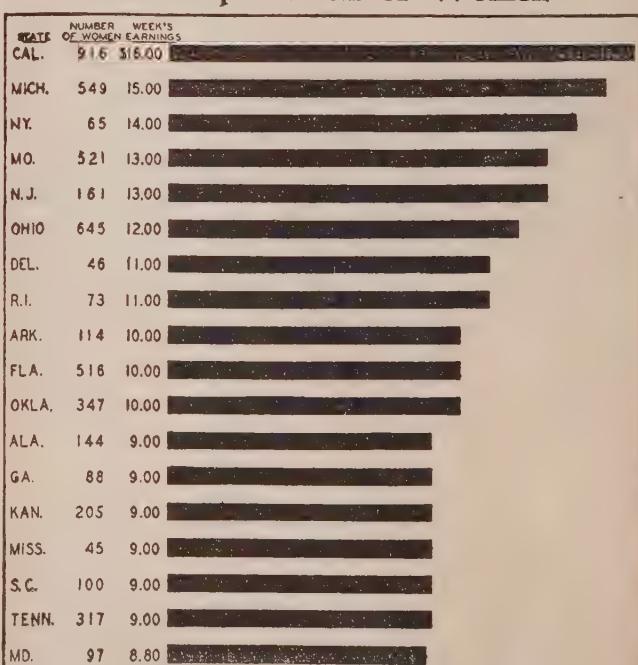
Comparative Costs of Living

The International Labor Office has recently published figures assembled at the request of Henry Ford showing the costs of living in several European cities as compared with those in Detroit. The figure for Detroit was set at 100. Berlin was 83 to 90; Frankfurt, 85 to 93; Paris, 80 to 87; Manchester, 70 to 74. This scale of comparative costs sheds light upon the significance of the figures recently published in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* in London that 90 per cent of the adults of Germany have an income of less than \$50 per month, while 50 per cent fall below \$25 per month.

Religious Bodies Support Social Insurance

A vigorous endorsement of unemployment insurance and a protest against the misleading word "dole" to describe the system of social insurance were recently issued jointly by committees representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. These Protestant, Catholic and Jewish bodies likewise united in urging a more equitable distribution of wealth and income, and in recommending the principle of social planning in industry.

The Exploitation of Women



Average weekly earnings of young women in 164 five and ten cent stores and other low-price shops. Graph prepared by the United States Women's Bureau.

Christianity and Class Consciousness

JOHN C. BENNETT

MENTION class consciousness in a group of Christians who are intelligent and sensitive concerning the problems of social justice and you will get one of two opposite reactions. One group will say: "Whatever else Christians should do they should not encourage class consciousness. The marks of Christianity are love and universalism; the marks of class consciousness are hate and particularism. We are on the road to world brotherhood, and class consciousness would be retrogression. As for the Church, its chief function in times of change and unrest is that of a social solvent, to bring all classes together in the presence of God before whom all their differences are vain and sinful." The last retort of this group usually is, "How can those who are pacifists in regard to international war, who are attempting to lead us away from a narrow patriotism, turn around and encourage another form of group prejudice equally divisive?"

The other group, probably smaller and younger, will react in the opposite way. They will say with equal earnestness, "Class consciousness is a necessary stage on the road to social justice, to a classless society." They will accuse the first group of sentimental optimism; of not facing the realities of our economic life, the brutalities of the existing class struggle, the hopelessness of trusting the possessing class to reform the system without pressure from below. They will point out that fellowship which precedes class consciousness is a form of hypocrisy and an enemy of the true fellowship which is possible only in a just society.

The issue between these two groups may well be the most serious issue in the next decade among Christians who are committed to the social implications of Christianity. This article is written by one who belongs to the second group in the hope that a few members of the first group may read it. The differences between the two groups are in part the result of misunderstandings; words and definitions are perhaps a third of the difficulty. But there is a more fundamental point of difference which cannot be so easily resolved. First, I am going to attempt to remove some of the misunderstandings and then discuss the more fundamental problem.

Misunderstandings arise from the phrase "class consciousness." There are many kinds of class consciousness and some are clearly incompatible not only with Christianity but also with any ethical view of life. There is nothing sacred about the phrase and it may represent the most serious error. By class consciousness I mean the loyalty of the workers themselves as a class, includ-

ing both the fortunate skilled workers and the underprivileged workers, to the cause of their own emancipation. They should take the same interest in that cause which many radicals outside their ranks now take in it and they should put behind it their own idealism combined with enlightened self-interest, both intensified by the fact that they are so close to the evils of the present system that they can feel those evils more keenly than can the privileged class.

This attitude involves at least two forms of common action. First, the whole class must act together in the formation of an effective trade union movement and they must, as a class, share the burden of strikes. They must present a united front to the employers in their demands for the right to organize and for improved conditions of life. The other form of common action is of a political nature. Today the workers are divided into two parties which have this one thing in common: they both betray the real interest of the workers. The political rights of the American workers are at present wasted and will continue to be wasted until there is common action in support of a political party which really represents the cause of social justice.

TO make clearer my position on the subject of class consciousness it might be helpful to enumerate several things which that phrase does not mean. Class consciousness does not mean that the working class will become more narrow and selfish. Rather it means that the individual worker will rise to a higher ethical level. He will achieve a wider loyalty than he now knows. He will be more unselfish and self-sacrificing than now seems possible. Instead of attempting to rise above his class and when he has risen from it trample upon it; instead of sitting tight, playing safe in the fear of losing his job; or instead of seeking only the welfare of his narrow group of privileged workers, he will be loyal to the cause of all the workers. He will come out on strike to help workers who are less fortunate than himself, or, if this is impossible, he will help to bear the burdens of the strikes of other workers. In the British general strike there was a fine example of loyalty to the wider group when the privileged workers went on strike for the sake of the miners. Class consciousness which means this wider loyalty is far superior to the individualism, the cowardice, the "yes man" psychology which American workers share with their employers.

Class consciousness does not mean the acceptance of violence as a method of social change. There are reasons enough why violence is self-defeating as a means to any

good end and in itself an evil. Neither the economic nor the political action of a class-conscious working class need be violent. But anyone who knows anything about American life knows that there is violence in the class struggle and that there will be more. Even Gandhi's non-violent strategy does result in violence. But on this head there are two things for us who are middle class observers to remember. The first is that violence is used in an organized way by the employers, for they have the police, the armed deputies, the guardsmen on their side. The second thing is that in many cases the employers do not need to resort to overt violence because they have far stronger weapons which are morally no better. Starvation is a stronger weapon than bullets, and injunctions are a close second. The sheer weight of the economic system, the government, the inertia of our social habits are on the employers' side. If strikers use violence they do so at the risk of discrediting themselves in a situation in which the real power is all against them. Doubtless, in that case, we should not approve violence but neither should we assume an attitude of moral superiority toward those who use violence in desperation against a system in which we have long acquiesced and by which we profit.

Our goal must be class consciousness intelligent enough and morally sensitive enough to avoid violence. But in so complex a world we should not allow sporadic acts of violence on the part of workers to hide from us the justice of their cause or blind us to the brutality of economic power.

CLASS consciousness does not mean class hate. Hate is a feeling against persons. Class hate would be an undiscriminating hate against all the persons in an opposing class. But it is beside the point to hate the members of the propertied classes. Most of them are ignorant of the evil to which they consent. Many of them are caught in a vicious system which makes them do what they would never do as individuals in order to keep solvent in the midst of competition. An individual employer is often quite helpless and from a moral point of view a worse victim of the system than his workers. There are many members of the privileged class whose conscience and intelligence are potential allies of the workers. It is possible to open their eyes and to make them see, and if they can only see they will help. Frequently it is the most privileged of all who, in view of their great wealth, might become the object of strongest hate, that are the nearest to a recognition of the evils and absurdities of the system. They can't quite extricate themselves from the system but sometimes their children do. Hatred of any persons will lead nowhere and undiscriminating hatred of all persons in a class will rob the workers of powerful allies.

Class consciousness must never be divorced from ethical responsibility, from a sense of obligation to the

whole community. "My class, right or wrong" is not to be preferred to "My country, right or wrong." Both put the will of the group above moral standards and above the welfare of the whole. At the present time the emancipation of the under-privileged class is the form which justice must take. The welfare of that class is the cause of justice. Class consciousness is good therefore as a means of attaining justice—a justice which it is the duty of all classes to promote. When members of a group put class interest above ethical distinctions as the consistent nationalist does, in that moment class consciousness becomes an evil. And that moment will come unless from the beginning class consciousness is ethical, unless it is regarded as something relative, subordinate, provisional. Ethical sensitivity must be developed in all stages of the struggle. It will not suddenly come into being when the workers are tempted by power.

IHAVE hedged about class consciousness with so many qualifications that I doubt if many liberal Christians would find fault with the result in theory. But the first group of liberals would go on to say: "Why emphasize this class consciousness, this class struggle? When specific conflicts arise in Harlan, or Gastonia, or even in Brooklyn we are on the side of the workers. But these conflicts are not characteristic of American industry. Don't stir up unrest. Labor conditions have improved in the last thirty years. There is a growing tendency on the part of capital and labor to work together. There are men at the head of American business who are high minded and humane. Already they have adopted the high-wages principle. The future lies in coöperation between capital and labor, not with class struggles." Perhaps it will be pointed out in conclusion that many labor unions are in the hands of racketeers and that business leaders are frequently more enlightened than the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. In this attitude lies the fundamental difference between the two groups.

The answer to these optimistic conclusions about the coming era of coöperation between capital and labor is that all these apparently favorable tendencies cover up the real nature of our industrial society. There are two facts about that society which are overlooked. The first is that in this country, over very large areas, the right of labor to organize is denied. The labor unions which exist are weak enough and badly led, but the extension of labor organization meets the most vicious opposition on the part of those who wield economic power. That means, in practice, that without strong unions the individual laborer is utterly helpless. Labor unions are an indispensable condition of social justice and to organize them and to make them effective means a long and desperate conflict which cannot be won without a class-conscious working element. It will be a long

time before labor unions are taken for granted in America as they are in England and until that time comes the class struggle will be in its most desperate stage.

The second fact about the condition of the American worker is that he is exposed to periodic depressions in which he is regularly the victim, as is the case today. A large part of American labor is unemployed, or employed for part time, or employed at greatly reduced wages. And no adequate provision is made for the support of this large class of workers. According to the American system they are left to charity. But what is being done to keep the same thing from happening again in eight or ten years? Will not those millions of victims be victims again even before they have had time to pay the debts left them by this depression?

THESE two facts set us our minimum task: the creation of a strong labor movement, the provision of security against unemployment, and the planning of our society to prevent the kind of depressions which make unemployment inevitable. Not one of those things can be done without reducing the power of employers, without social control of the right to make profit, or without a policy of taxation which will bring about a redistribution of wealth. This program will reveal clearly that there is a conflict of economic interest between labor and capital which no sentiment can overcome.

The privileged class will never accept the curtailment of power and wealth without a struggle, since it is shielded from the evils of the present system. It hasn't enough imagination to feel the intensity of human suffer-

ing which those evils involve. It is indoctrinated with the individualistic philosophy. And after all, "the present system is the American system which has made America great." But closely allied with this ignorance and blindness there is a steady pull of self-interest. Some of us may come to see that these changes are just and desire them. More of us may come to see that they are inevitable and accept them. But they will not be inevitable unless there is pressure from those who suffer, and those who suffer cannot bring pressure unless they are organized into a class-conscious labor movement.

While the struggle is on there is room enough for the church's work as a social solvent. Class consciousness must always remain ethical if its results are to have ethical value. It must avoid hate and violence. It must be relative and provisional, for there is a unity which underlies class differences which must never be lost. Religion can do much to help us keep that unity. Moreover, the church can modify the attitude of the privileged class and make many in that class see that the class struggle is a struggle for justice. In time the class struggle may cease as such and become a struggle between those who seek justice and the stubborn who care more for their privileges. The goal is a classless society. But long before that goal is achieved churches can be outposts where on a small scale such a fellowship has already been won. Those outposts must be churches in which both classes live together on a basis of equality, without the hypocrisy which covers up the problem and with a common devotion to the same cause of justice.

The New Student Outlook

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

FOR nearly forty years there have been held at intervals of about a college generation conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement. Through the years no other series of gatherings has brought together so many students from so large a number of institutions of higher learning. These meetings have had a profound effect upon large sections of student life and upon Protestant foreign missionary activity. Each has, as well, been a means of gauging both the student temper of its year and trends in Christian missions. Those who attended the one held in Indianapolis eight years ago will not soon forget the vivid illustration of the impatience of youth with the slogans of a previous generation, their passion for reform in race and international relations, and a certain robust cocksureness and distrust of older leadership. At the same time, it was clear that those

in charge of the missionary enterprise were somewhat bewildered both by the trend of student opinion and by the new issues themselves which followed in the wake of the World War.

The most recent of these conventions was held at Buffalo during the New Year holiday, and in its physical aspects it bore an obvious family likeness to the preceding ten. There were the students, more than two thousand of them, mostly undergraduates, drawn from every section of the United States and from most of the provinces of Canada. There was a small sprinkling of faculty folk and a larger contingent of those professional religious workers who specialize in students, of board secretaries, and of furloughed missionaries. There was the inevitable huge and barn-like convention hall with its loud speaker and its other necessary but aesthetically unattractive trappings.

There was the remarkably efficient organization—which Americans seem almost instinctively to produce—which registered the delegates, assigned them to hotel rooms, and kept the rest of the machinery running smoothly.

In some other respects, however, this Convention was different. Among the speakers were to be found both the theologically conservative and the socially and theologically radical. Yet the two blended together without controversy in a manner which is evidence that the modernist-fundamentalist debate has, for the main body of American Protestantism, become a matter of history. Each group has been modified by the other. It is significant, for example, that even the most conservative speakers had nothing to say of saving souls from a future hell for a future heaven—that compelling motive of earlier missionaries—and spoke only of the transformation wrought by the Christian Gospel in lives here on earth. The watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement which was once blazoned in huge letters over the Convention platform—"The Evangelization of the World in this Generation"—with its popular implication of giving every living soul a chance of escape from future misery, was scarcely mentioned. On the other hand, the liberals were quite willing to grant and were even eager to contend that it is by transformed individuals that the better age is to come and that the Cross is the only way to the redemption of humanity, whether collectively or individually.

THEN, too, there was a fearless and at times almost brutally clear facing of the forces which threaten to wreck all civilization in the near future. At the very outset Dr. Ernest Tittle brought them before the Convention, and Kirby Page's enumeration of them was so sobering that some felt that the picture it presented was too black to be true. Another speaker showed how in some aspects Christian missions in India seem to be lagging behind the rapid movement of events. In the thirty or more round-tables and discussion groups which occupied much of the time of the delegates, such issues were discussed as disarmament, war, nationalism, Latin America, the Manchurian situation, race conflict, the poverty of rural India, and the chaos in China.

Yet there was evidence that at least some of the leaders of the Christian forces have not given themselves over to despair before the apparently overwhelming problems which confront them. The very opening address emphasized the fact of God and the confidence which faith in Him gives in the ultimate outcome. Dr. Mott, whom one speaker characterized as the "field marshal of Christian missions," spoke of the program which the International Missionary Council adopted at its meeting at Jerusalem nearly four years ago and has since been carrying into effect. He also

enumerated the many unsolved problems which yet challenge the missionary. As always, his was a note of courage and hope, combined with a frank recognition of difficulties. One of the high points of the meeting was the session in which the Convention put itself overwhelmingly on record as favoring radical disarmament and called on President Hoover to appoint a student member to the American delegation at Geneva. What was for many the climax of the Convention was the story told by a young physician of six years spent in one of the most distraught and bandit-ridden sections of China and of the way in which he had found that love is powerful even in the face of stark brutality. Memorable, too, was the fact that the race issue scarcely appeared as a practical problem of conference administration. Colored students were present in some numbers and were entertained by hotels and restaurants with their white confreres without an untoward incident. This was made possible by frankly facing the issue months before the Convention assembled. That there was not the slightest hint at discrimination, although the best hotels in the city were in constant use, is a hopeful indication of what can be done and a happy augury for the future.

TO many of us who are classified among the "elders," quite the most startling feature of the Convention was the student reaction. In striking contrast with the gathering at Indianapolis eight years ago, there was no hint of insurrection. The turbulence which made that gathering electric was conspicuously absent. So, too, was the somewhat sophisticated, half-amused attitude of many of the delegates at Detroit four years ago. Scepticism and questioning there were on the part of some, and criticisms were not entirely wanting. But there was a deep undercurrent of earnestness, kindliness of judgment, a longing for a deeper religious certainty, an appreciation of the sincerity of the speakers and leaders, and a sober and honest determination to live more intelligently and unselfishly, the like of which has not been seen in any of these major student assemblies since the World War.

Just what the reasons are for this new attitude is not clear. It may be that the convention was planned more wisely and with more regard for student opinion than in the past. However, there was fully as much student participation in the preparations for the Indianapolis and Detroit gatherings as there was for Buffalo. Nor does the reason seem to be the docility of students conscious of immaturity. There was much of active student leadership, and no speech showing such a combination of maturity, judgment, intelligence, earnestness, and depth of religious feeling has been made by a student at any of the three gatherings since the War as was that on war and disarmament delivered by a Yale graduate of last June. Immaturity

there undoubtedly was on the part of many, as in previous gatherings, but to more than one observer it seemed clear that among at least a minority there was a greater maturity and better-informed intelligence than in the earlier conventions. For example, on questions such as race and war, which were debatable issues four and eight years ago, agreement could be assumed at Buffalo on what some of us believe to be Christian and liberal positions. Probably the delegates were a somewhat more selected group than those at Indianapolis and Detroit. The expense in this winter of depression kept away practically all but those who had a serious purpose in coming. Some students made notable sacrifices to attend. Then, too, the consciousness of hard times and of the forces which threaten disaster could not but be sobering. Easy optimism was conspicuously lacking from the platform and if present among students was decidedly not in good form. It would, of course, be a mistake to assume that the students at Buffalo are representative of all the types to be found on our campuses. They were drawn from the serious and more religious groups. However, the fact that there were more than two thousand of them is evidence that the elements which they represent are numerically by no means inconsiderable. There remains, too, the contrast between them and their predecessors four and eight years ago, who were drawn from substantially the same groups.

But whatever the cause may have been, the Buffalo Convention is proof positive of a radical change in large sections of student life. No one can predict how prolonged it is to be, whether it will pass should the depression lift, or whether it is symptomatic of deeper currents. It may well be that in the new generation of students, who were infants in 1914 and who have been reared almost entirely in the post-War world, we are getting a not inconsequential number who are fairly aware of the problems of our day and do not look upon them as affairs from which a return to "normalcy" will speedily free us, but who are prepared to settle down to their solution resolutely, patiently, and, if need be, sacrificially. They may be evidence that large elements in the Christian Church are making real progress in coming to grips with the questions of today and that the education which for the past decade and a half they have been carrying on is beginning to bear fruit. The deep longing which many show for religious guidance—so different from the cynical and somewhat superficial revolt of a few years back and from the indifference which is still widespread—may be an indication that we are on the eve of a new religious awakening. If the Buffalo Convention is reliable evidence, that awakening will mean for many not an individualistic mysticism, but an access of strength in righting social and international evils. To many of us the Convention was the most heartening experience of the last twelve months.

Whom the Gods Would Destroy

BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS

MILITARISM is a relative term. There is no important industrialized country in which more than a small minority of the population is devoted to the military ideal. Neither is there any Great Power in which more than a minority is actively pacifist. Most people are not consistently or greatly concerned with the matter. They can be stimulated into action on either side by the turn of events. The term "militaristic" as applied to a particular country means that that country has a comparatively large minority which is imbued with military doctrines, that the military spirit which possesses this minority can be fanned into a hotter flame than elsewhere, and that resistance to military propaganda by active pacifists is more difficult and dangerous than in other nations. All of these descriptions apply to Japan. It avails nothing to point out that the great majority of the Japanese are not professionally interested in war. The fact is that the warlike group in Japan has a fiercer attack than in other important countries. The spirit of so-

called patriotism as expressed through arms reaches a ferocity there which at times makes opposition futile and brings under its influence the dominant elements in the state.

The reason for this is probably that the Japanese have but yesterday emerged from a feudal society in which a powerful hereditary military class occupied a privileged position. The industrial revolution, which has made war a disastrous method of procedure in an economically coöperating world, has made it highly advisable that the policies of a dependent Japan be dictated not by force and hatred but by friendly commercial considerations. The mind of a nation, however, cannot be reformed at once to meet the necessities of changed conditions. There still remains enough of the older military method of thinking in Japan to render it difficult for that nation to adjust itself to its own best interests in a modernized world. When, in the Manchurian situation, cool and businesslike decisions were demanded, the controlling factions were

seized by a false patriotic frenzy which made rational action impossible. There is disaster in this situation for the Japanese. Under such incapable leadership the path has been prepared by which Japan will probably descend within the next two or three decades from the ranks of the greater nations. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

During the feudal period of Japanese history the *samurai*, the military retainers of the clan chiefs, became "probably the finest type of hereditary soldiers the world has seen." They were subjected to the severest discipline. They were cruel, according to present standards, and they were schooled to the point where, under certain contingencies, they could carry out a self-imposed decree of suicide by disembowelment. The *bushido*, or living code of the *samurai*, compelled the most arduous practice of the military arts. It condemned extravagance and soft living. A member of the *samurai* class lived frugally and was paid in rations. He was profoundly contemptuous of the commoner and of the profit motive. It is recorded that when the military processions of the *daimios* passed along the road, all commoners who chanced to be nearby were compelled to kneel with uncovered heads while the window shutters of all houses upon the highway were closed. Should anyone look down upon the *daimio* from a roadside window he was liable to immediate execution at the hands of the military retainers.

This supremacy of the *samurai* over the commoners might have been adapted to a time when the need for order in an agricultural society was paramount. But when Japan came into contact with more advanced nations and when western navies showed how utterly impotent was the military system of the island people, a general reorganization was determined upon and the units of Japanese society which had been rigidly fixed for centuries were put into rapid circulation and flux. The hereditary military caste was forced to humble its pride and to abdicate before the principle of conscription under which, with advanced types of weapons, the former serf became as good a fighting man as the descendant of the mightiest of warriors. A Japanese commoner behind a field gun was able to scatter destruction among whole hordes of the swordsmen who were so terrible in former generations. It was soon proved that under the new methods of warfare the effectiveness of the soldier was dependent upon his training in the ranks and not upon his ancestry.

THE *samurai* were swept away with the Japanese feudal order. In 1871, feudalism and serfdom were abolished. The hereditary pensions of the military caste were commuted to life pensions in 1873, and in 1874 the right of sword-bearing was taken away. The old forms of military privilege went overboard for

the good of the Japanese people. But they were not always relinquished with good grace. When Omura Masujiro made an early attempt to replace the hereditary soldiery with the principle of conscription, he was stabbed to death, a fate which has since threatened many Japanese reform leaders. When Mori Arimori helped to bring about the abolition of the sword-bearing privilege of the *samurai*, he barely escaped assassination at the hands of the incensed conservatives. The reform which he helped to effect was followed by the Satsuma rebellion. In that uprising the national army, which included former serfs, farmers, and tradesmen, finally defeated the rebels, who were the very flower of the fighting aristocracy. The end of the hereditary military class had apparently come.

But the fighting tradition, so thoroughly instilled in a large section of Japanese society over long centuries, has continued strong. The military spirit is seen in the outbursts of so-called patriotic societies against civilian officials who may seek to adopt pacific and moderate policies in contradiction to what the "patriots" think are the rights of Japan. In 1915, Minister Reinsch sent to the State Department from Peking a memorandum of a Japanese patriotic society urging upon the Japanese government immediate action to bring China under the control of Japan. Because of the European War, the memorandum stated, "now is the most opportune moment for Japan quickly to solve the Chinese question. Such an opportunity will not occur for hundreds of years to come. Not only is it Japan's divine duty to act now, but present conditions in China favor the execution of such a plan." One of the proposals of the society was that Japan was to acquire the sovereign rights in South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. On numerous occasions in recent years representatives of "patriotic" views have threatened with violence Japanese officials who have been inclined to pacific diplomacy. Knives have flashed even in the lobby of the House of Representatives.

The persistence of the feudal military tradition is also shown in the independence of the army and navy of civil control. In the cabinet the Minister of the Army is always a general and the Minister of the Navy is an admiral. These ministers are outside the control not only of the popularly elected representatives in the Diet but also of the Prime Minister and the cabinet. They are responsible directly to the Emperor and they have the right of audience with him. They are ordinarily guided in their policies by the general staffs.

The resentment on the part of the military class of any attempt at popular interference with the army or navy was brought out at the time of the London Treaty. The treaty was opposed by the Japanese naval staff on the grounds that it did not give Japan a 70 per cent ratio in 10,000-ton cruisers and that it

did not authorize a sufficient submarine strength. The naval members of the Supreme Military Council likewise attacked the treaty. Premier Hamaguchi, a commoner, pressed the treaty successfully despite the naval opposition. His victory was evidently due to the growing democratic sentiment in Japan, and to the fact that the treaty had the support of Admiral Takarabe, Minister of the Navy, and certain Imperial Household advisers.

The naval opposition to the treaty appears to have been an exemplification of blindness to the international position of Japan and to the interest of that country in a solution of the armament problem by international agreement. The treaty seems clearly to have been to the advantage of the Japanese people. Their reasonable rights were safeguarded and they were guaranteed an escape from a suicidal building competition with a financially powerful nation which would have been able to bankrupt Japan in a spending contest. In courageously standing out for the interests of his people against the distorted judgment of the naval class, Premier Hamaguchi showed himself capable of the wisest statesmanship in view of the changing times. But for this stand he gave up his life. In November, 1930, he was shot at the Tokyo central railway station by a member of a "patriotic" society, and nine months later he died of his wounds. He was a courageous statesman and a true martyr.

AND then came the Manchurian crisis of 1931. When the Japanese troops were moved out of the railway zone on September 18, the government embarked upon a policy of the gravest importance to the Japanese people. But this decision was not made by the civil authorities. All they knew about it was what they read in the papers. It was the irresponsible military authorities who placed the destiny of Japan in jeopardy. An example of the manner in which the military spirit was fanned into flames was shown in September at the memorial service for Captain Shintaro Nakamura who was killed in Manchuria. The services, held at a military shrine in Tokyo, were attended by 10,000 officers, soldiers, and reservists. Afterwards many more thousands of citizens passed before the shrine. A white banner contained messages to the soul of the slain captain written in the blood of his military academy classmates. Undoubtedly the requirements of decency called for a dignified and sorrowful ceremony in memory of the Japanese officer, but the military group evidently considered it an occasion for an anti-Chinese demonstration. No concern was apparently felt for the hundreds of Chinese killed by the Japanese or for the thousands of others on both sides who will suffer the same fate if the war spirit is not curbed.

Japan, of all countries, cannot defy China, Russia, and the opinion of the civilized world. Her present

military strength is indeed great but her future prospects are none too bright. On the basis of population and natural resources it can be confidently predicted that in the course of a few decades China will become again one of the world's greatest nations, attaining a strength which is out of the reach of small and insular Japan. The complete loss of Manchuria would not materially affect this development, which seems to be one of the most irresistible trends in modern history. If Japan is to continue her commercial and industrial development she must obtain raw materials from China and sell in the growing Chinese market. But such considerations seem unable to penetrate the military mind in Japan, which looks forward to a swift triumph in Manchuria or a game of bluff conducted with success at a time when China suffers from flood, famine, and political chaos.

Democratic changes in Japan have brought the government to a large extent under civil and popular control, thus permitting the destiny of the nation to be shaped to a certain extent in accordance with economic facts. The present serious situation, however, demonstrates that the adjustment is not yet complete. This lack of timing, which brings the nation face to face with a crisis before the public mind and the governmental machinery have been modernized to meet the demands of an internationalized world, may yet cause the ruin of the insular empire. Perhaps already the *samurai* spirit has hurled Japan upon the sword.

Companions of Aurora

THE imperial eagles.
Black-beaked, -kneed, and -toed,
Before the blazonry
Of lock-stepped infantry
Appeared—gaunt augurs,
On the Roman road.
Who cannot see
The matted-haired ones scud
Over the hills?
Who cannot see
Each splotch of the others' blood
Upon the sills,
Scatterings, spatterings,
Before the pouring flood
Of soldiery?

The imperial eagles,
Breeze-tossed at flag-masts,
Flippant in the thatched towns,
Mordant as the blasts
Blown from a metallic horn,
Hove, like ravens,
And drove us, cravens,
Through searing centuries of merited scorn.

SHERWOOD TRASK

If Europe Is To Live

DONALD GRANT

IF Europe is to live, she must learn the lesson the signs of the present time are proclaiming. It is the eleventh hour, and the lesson of the past two years has now become the writing on the wall: "Change your hearts and not your garments . . . Instead of war, friendship; instead of domination, coöperation."

Crisis and decision were foreseen in January, 1931, as the characteristics of the year that was to follow. Crises there have been, and they continue in such full measure that people react to them no longer; but decision has not been achieved. Now, at the beginning of the new year, it is all too evident that the hope of real decision is meagre. Europe is drifting. Those in positions of leadership do not lead. They wait upon events, trying to adapt themselves to each new crisis as it emerges from the flux of dark forces which have been fermenting since the World War.

Lack of leadership exposes the peoples to the impact of forces which increasingly defy control. Fear launched the World War and at once quickened into feverish activity mass movements of antagonism and defensiveness from which Europe has not yet recovered. Fear has prevented the governments from making peace. The machines of war were halted in 1918, but fear, aiming at revenge, greed and domination, found expression in the Peace Treaties and divided Europe into two groups of nations contending for and against the *status quo*. Persevering struggle against the iron frame-work imposed by the Treaties—reparations, minorities, frontiers, lost territories, enforced disarmament—has reduced a great part of Europe to a state of friction and suffering that has become chronic. In one country after another—Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland—one meets the despairing cry: "It can't go on. Something must happen. . . ." Which being interpreted means: "We have nothing more to lose; things can't be worse than they are; violent outbreak, whether war or revolution, is preferable to this." This pathological state of nerves is widespread in Europe to-day; the Hitler movement in Germany is its best known expression. Millions of young and middle-aged men, without work, without prospects, without a future, rally to the extreme movements, Hitlerism or Communism, because these proclaim the bursting of present fetters and promise to pent-up masses of men the relief of violent overthrow.

Politically, the France-Germany relationship is the most important in Europe. For a year or two after the War Germany was in a mood to welcome a sporting

and generous attitude and to respond to it. France failed to demonstrate that generous spirit, treated Germany still as an enemy, and the chance of a new beginning was lost. The fear motive still rules. When Germany took the initiative in March 1931 in announcing the plan for a Customs Union with Austria, France launched her political opposition with great violence. As a result, this move towards freer trade and regional coöperation was paralysed and discredited. More than ever Germany sees herself thwarted politically, permanently thrust down into economic slavery, and denied all initiative by the unappeased and inveterate foe.

The virus of injustice, domination, revenge and hate has thoroughly embittered Europe. Consider the animosities between Poland and Germany, Italy and France, Jugoslavia and Italy, Hungary and the Little Entente, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia, to mention only a few. These poisoned relationships are typical of Europe in 1931. The material loss and all-invading poverty resulting from this inhibited state of war become increasingly evident; but only one who travels in these lands realises the infinite amount of moral and spiritual damage wrought. To such a one comes repeatedly to mind the cry of the Hebrew prophet, "Turn ye! Turn ye! Why will ye die, O House of Israel?"

THE policies which have reduced the nations to their present condition of moral paralysis have brought economic collapse so nigh that the fate of Europe hangs by a chain in which the deciding link, inevitably, is Germany. Let that link break and Europe collapses, for the galloping crises of 1931 brought home the truth, denied by national policies, that the nations too are members one of another.

Only recently, when great banks failed and states were driven to admit inability to pay debts or interest, did we learn that in Central and Eastern Europe commercial long-term credits have hardly been known since the War because there was no confidence in political stability. This sinister fact is only one sign of the prevailing fear which after years of fermenting matured in the shattering events which followed. In May the great Rothschild international bank in Vienna announced that it had reached the end of its capital and reserves. It seemed incredible that this bank—Rothschild, Schneider-Creusot, Bank of England, Kuhn Loeb all behind it—could fail! The shock only intensified the alarm which vibrated through European banking houses. Followed failures in Germany, where very large credits from other lands were concerned,

and the shattering of credit in Central and Eastern Europe. As in Austria, so in Germany, the State had to support the collapsing banks. But now the debacle was properly under way. The Hoover moratorium was robbed of its moral value as a restorer of confidence by the delaying of France; the same country, playing her own cards, wrecked in July the project of a world finance emergency plan.

Britain had lent to Germany very large sums which she had herself borrowed. These credits in Germany were now "frozen" and as a result led to a financial and governmental crisis in Britain. There followed the extraordinary events of August, September, October, and, suddenly, in the very hour when the chorus of financial and economic events most loudly proclaimed the ineluctable interdependence of nations, we find Britain, the bulwark of free trade, shattering the meagre remains of confidence in Europe by adopting a policy of economic nationalism. In a world which is an economic unity this means economic war. Other nations, "in self-defense," have already indulged in reprisals, and the atmosphere of Europe becomes more pessimistic. Many European lands now prohibit the export of capital. Firms and individuals cannot pay their debts across national frontiers. The peoples of Europe, as in Soviet Russia in the famine of 1922, are being reduced to the primitive practice of barter—Austrian factory products for Bulgarian tobacco. Unemployment increases in the industrial countries while the peasant populations of the industrial lands, unable to sell their products, languish in tax-ridden poverty. Class war and bitter political conflict rage within most European lands, while the staggering costs of armaments, greater than ever before, burden the sorely-tried populations.

The suicide of capitalist Europe is exposed all the more glaringly by the rise of Soviet Russia with her "planned economy" into the second place among the nations in terms of production. This also is "the writing on the wall." It is clear and unmistakable. Europe must learn or perish.

Precisely in this hour of desperate need the World Disarmament Conference meets. We have waited long. The preparations have been thorough and have lasted years. The will of the peoples for peace is the moving power behind this unique conference. A new moral beginning is our fundamental need. Any honest step taken towards disarmament will release spiritual influences as yet undreamed of and create a situation in which the questions of war guilt, reparations, disarmament, social and economic need—now linked together in a vicious circle—will find solutions which today are impossible or inconceivable. The prophets and the pioneers of human ways, even in the present despair, look to this conference with expectation. The people have given their names and their faiths in peti-

tion towards it. Providentially, it seems, the nations of Europe have been given this last chance to change their ways. God, working through humanity, seems clearly to say: "Turn ye! Turn ye! Why will ye die, O peoples of Europe?"

Chaplains are Part of the War System

CHAPLAINS, under present conditions, are officials in the army. They wear its uniform, differentiated by a cross. They are graded as Major-Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains. They are under military orders. They receive military pay. They offer prayers which cultivate the status and morale of the army. In ceremonial hours they represent the alliance of religion with the purpose of the army.

They are not consulted concerning the policy which leads to war. They are expected to assume the justice of their country's cause. If they have doubts they must keep them to themselves. In peace time they may speak vaguely about the blessings of peace, but they are expected to assume that the army to which they belong is essential to its preservation. In war-time their talk must not be of peace but of war. From the point of view of their employers their task is to strengthen the fighting morale of the troops, for which purpose religion is known to have singular efficacy. Whenever victory is achieved—which coldly speaking means that their side has slain more than the opposing side, they give God thanks for it. Victory does not always come to the people whose cause is most righteous, but it is the Chaplain's duty to assume that it is so when his side has been victorious.

In a word, he may comfort the sick, bury the dead, use his influence against V.D. and other evils, but to his employers he is part of the machine, using prayers or exhortations, instead of commands, or the cross instead of the gun, to ensure that this mighty engine of destruction goes on its way to its appointed end. There is no victory in war except by killing and destroying more than your opponents.

Has not the time come when the cause of Christ should be disentangled from the war-system? Can anyone deny that the appointment of Chaplains identifies the Church too closely with the system? Can one wearing its uniform taking its pay, be regarded as entirely free? Can the good work which Chaplains undoubtedly do quite atone for the sinister support which their presence as military officers gives to the system which has already half wrecked the world and still threatens to destroy it? . . .

My plea is not that we should refuse to serve soldiers, either in peace or in war, but that we shall only serve them as free men, openly dedicated to the destruction of the war-system. Quakers and others have shown us how to do this even in war-time. We could conceivably give pledges of neutrality, as ambulance men and others do in war-time. We should not use subversive propaganda while on duty. But if they demand that we shall only serve as tied, paid, silent officials of a system that we openly, deliberately and resolutely repudiate, then our answer should be a ringing "No!"—Dr. Frederick W. Norwood, Pastor of The City Temple, London, before the Congregational Assembly, 1931.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Looking Toward Disarmament

The United States and Disarmament. By Benjamin Williams. McGraw-Hill Company. \$3.50.

THOSE planning study courses on the disarmament question could not do better than use *The United States and Disarmament*, by Benjamin Williams, as a basis from which to work. Though not a particularly provocative or stimulating volume, it is a reference book that the student of international affairs who wishes to follow the coming deliberations intelligently but who lacks the time for a thorough study of the question would do well to have on hand.

Mr. Williams begins with the "Doctrine of Mahan" and that gentleman's emphasis on the need of sea power, and shows how Mahan's ideas developed and even today control the big navy position. "Mahan not only idealized the navy," the author points out, "but true to his life-long environment, he idealized war, going so far as to assert that the right to go to war, even on mistaken conviction, is in accordance with that moral freedom and the consequent moral responsibility which are the distinguishing glory of the rational man and of the sovereign state."

From this as a background of America's big navy policy, together with a very interesting chapter on the development of sea power "as the guardian of the country's foreign commerce," Mr. Williams proceeds to show the futility of sea power as a vital protection for our commerce in a modern world, where the development of new methods of communication and travel has caused a decline in the effectiveness of naval power. Ocean transportation, he contends, will have its place—an important place—now and always, but "it will serve and not dominate the new order." "For," he goes on to say, "changes in the mechanics of maritime warfare have made it impossible that one country can control the world's wide oceans and intricate narrow seas." Navies, he argues, have almost entirely lost what was once their most important function: that of fostering trade. Today a people cannot get rich through naval activity. The profits which apparently have accrued to the nations in the colonial and commercial wars of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries have been replaced in modern warfare by destruction of capital, loss of credit, and the ruination of markets. Therefore, says Mr. Williams, the value of war and armaments must be computed in the light of the modern, international, economic system which has been created by specialization in production, rapid transportation and instantaneous communication.

The author covers briefly the armament limitation conferences before the one at Washington, and then the history of the world's efforts for disarmament since 1921, and finds that these conferences, though they accomplished little, represent "the substitution of intelligent direction for disorganization and chance." It is

interesting that he does not contend, as so many friends of disarmament do, that the Geneva Conference was a failure. He points out that the difficulties at Geneva were more those of personnel than lack of plan. For example, he argues that "Admiral Jones as a naval expert was thoroughly familiar with the technical aspects of the subject and entirely honest in his approach, but he viewed the world through a porthole." He believes also that the part played by Mr. Shearer for the munitions industries unwittingly served the cause of armament limitation because of the resulting senatorial investigations. The fact that the Geneva Conference called attention to the points of rivalry between Great Britain and the United States, so that discussion and publicity took the matter out of the hands of naval experts and placed it in a field where public sentiment could exert an influence, made that conference wholly worth while.

As for the London Conference, he believes that three points were gained: the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and a decided improvement in the relations of the United States and Japan; the lessening of tension in Anglo-American rivalry, and a demonstration that the construction of huge armaments is a matter of international concern which can be dealt with by treaty.

The end of the book is given over to a discussion of the problems to be met at the coming conference and an appendix which includes the various treaties. In conclusion, the author states, "The doctrine of security may well be pushed to such an extreme that it will defeat its own purpose. A security which must be based on armaments many times as great as those of the rival country from which an attack is feared can be no real or permanent security at all, but the fact that in the decade from 1921 to 1931 a legislative system of dealing with armaments has been brought into existence gives the whole movement unmistakable marks of progress."

DOROTHY DETZER

Economics and Religion

God and Mammon. By John A. Hobson. Macmillan Co. \$1.00.

THIS little tract, written by an eminent economist, is an admirable attempt to summarize the researches of Weber, Troeltsch, Tawney, and Warner—men who have recently been setting forth the historical connections between religion and economic life. Primitive religion, writes Hobson, maintained a co-partnership between itself and the primitive economic order because of its extensive requirements of sacrificial offerings. Presumably the gifts received by the priestly caste were given not to it but to the gods in payment for the favors secured by the priests. Whenever skepticism crept into the minds of the priests as to the efficacy of these rites, the whole institution of religion degenerated into crude economic exploitation. Catholicism has been divided against

itself with an ascetic element struggling against the growing entanglements of the world. On the one hand, the church forbade the taking of interest on money loaned; it insisted upon the just price and enforced the giving of alms. On the other hand, it acknowledged the right of private property and proceeded to exercise that right on its own account. The spiritual economics that were involved in the doctrine of purgatory and in the sale of indulgences finally made a mockery of the canonist economic teachings. But, even granting these abuses which wrecked the medieval Church, so far as its underlying organic purpose was concerned, it held, according to Hobson, a sounder view than that which has prevailed in modern economic theory and practice.

Protestantism can lay claim to no such concerted effort to control economic behavior in the interests of social welfare. True, it has at times carried philanthropism to rigorous extremes, but its emphasis upon the doctrine of a divine calling, upon frugality, and upon individual salvation has tended to reinforce the acquisitive and competitive instincts of modern capitalism. The result has been that economic thought, after separating itself from the moral control of religion, has used this autonomy to set up for itself an extra-moral sanction. To illustrate, the author quotes Sir Josiah Stamp: "I would say whatever is economically right (i. e. inevitable) cannot be morally wrong. For where there is no choice of avoidance there is no moral issue. . . . If the Christian ethic cannot do any better than alter static economic distribution, it is bankrupt so far as its real effect on economic betterment is concerned."

Being thus told by the economists that any encroachments upon the riches of the rich will be disastrous, the churches have continued to teach that the Christian ethic simply bids the individual to work hard, produce more, and save more. The harvest of indifference now being reaped by the churches is therefore due in large measure to their utter failure to cope with the great emergencies of life, to make a "gospel of peace" prevail when war is threatening, to curb the "will to power" in business and politics, and to protect the poor against their economic oppressors. In other words, the impotence of the Christian churches in handling issues of gravest moral significance has brought them into something like contempt.

JAMES C. RETTIE

English Admirers of Gandhi

Gandhi: The Dawn of Indian Freedom. By Jack C. Winslow and Verrier Elwin. Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.50.

UNLIKE most writers on the Indian situation, the authors of this book are Englishmen who were in India all during the struggle of 1930-31. They are unattached missionaries of a unique sort. For a number of years they have lived there in poverty and entirely in native fashion and have thus been afforded an unusual intimacy with the Indian aspect of affairs. They investigated personally many of the villages where trouble occurred. Furthermore, they are devoted admirers of Gandhi and believe that India is going to win her freedom in the near future. Except for C. F. Andrews, there are no Englishmen that I know of who so thoroughly understand and are so completely in sympathy with Gandhi and his methods.

The book contains only four chapters, the first and last by Mr. Winslow, the two middle ones by Mr. Elwin. The first chapter discusses the imminent attainment of freedom by India, and shows why that will be not a detriment but a great benefit to the world and even to Great Britain. The second chapter is a fresh and vivid picture of the personal qualities and accom-

plishments of Mahatma Gandhi. The third is a detailed analysis and explanation of Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance, of how and why it works so powerfully, with excellent brief descriptions of each of the campaigns in which he has used it. The last chapter seeks to estimate the part which the Christian Church may play in a free India, and the conditions essential to the successful fulfillment of that part. This chapter, although seemingly out of place, considering the title of the book, contains much wise advice to missionaries. There is a foreword by the Archbishop of York.

Irrespective of the fact that one of the authors quotes from one of my own books on this subject, I strongly recommend this book to all who want to understand what has been happening and is going to happen in India. The style of both authors is clear and simple, the arrangement of material excellent, the selection of quotations from Gandhi discriminating and cogent, the assumptions and attitudes new and arresting, the whole discussion illuminating.

RICHARD B. GREGG

Gorky and His Russia

Maxim Gorky and His Russia. By Alexander Kaun. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. \$5.00.

“O F the making of books there is no end!” A disturbing fact enough, but likely to become rather terrifying if books continue not only to multiply but to expand to inordinate lengths as seems to be the present tendency. Six hundred closely printed pages seem generous even for a biography of Maxim Gorky. Even though the subject is interesting and important, the ordinary reader lives rather a hurried life at best. In literature, at least, the part may be better, if not greater, than the whole.

Gorky is unquestionably one of the makers of revolutionary Russia, and therefore, significant for others besides those who think of him as primarily a novelist and dramatist. From earliest days he was in revolt against conditions of life incredibly mean and against a political order that denied freedom. He was prepared to take the risks of the pioneer and when risks became sacrifices and suffering, he accepted both without complaint. "I have come into this world to disagree," wrote Gorky in an early poem and this, says Professor Kaun, "might have been his life slogan." But Gorky's disagreements were not the result of a minority temperament nor even of a definite social and economic philosophy as was so emphatically the case with Lenin. They were the result rather of an instinctive sympathetic reaction against conditions which produced human suffering and human degradation.

For in spite of Gorky's realism, his "creatures who once were men" and his denizens of the lower depths never cease to rasp his sensitive nerves and to tug at his heart strings. In one of his most interesting chapters, entitled "Rescuing Cultural Values," his biographer brings out the beneficence of that instinctive sympathy in the days when Bolshevik Russia touched the lowest depths of misery and need. He quotes M. Ossorgin: "One may say unhesitatingly that Gorky has saved hundreds of intellectual workers from hunger, humiliation, even death." It was the same impulsive sympathy that made him a revolutionist in Nizhni-Novgorod, gave emotional power to *At the Bottom*, and moved him to take infinite pains for the relief of the intelligentsia in the early days of Red Russia.

Professor Kaun writes fully of Gorky's boyhood and youth,

perhaps too fully for those who are familiar with Gorky's own unforgettable pictures in *Childhood* and *In the World*. With these available for the ordinary reader, two hundred pages, even though they are well written, seem somewhat out of proportion. After all, for those years no one can compete with Gorky himself.

The most valuable chapters in *Maxim Gorky and His Russia*, including the one already mentioned, are to be found in the concluding section entitled "In the Revolutionary Turmoil: Gorky and Lenin." This section does more than recount the fortunes of Gorky; it throws into relief the character of the Bolshevik leaders—so different from that of Gorky himself. And chief among them, of course, is Lenin himself—a man who may have had emotion and instinctive sympathy but who certainly had a philosophy and a dogma!

Here, too, is an explanation of Gorky's attitude toward the Bolshevik Revolution, which at first he had attacked so violently. But, having complained of the book's length, I must not give Professor Kaun a too obvious retort. So—a helpful, interesting book, which aids us in understanding not only Maxim Gorky but also the New Russia for which he undoubtedly helped to prepare the way.

DAVID BRYN-JONES

Roots of Japanese Policy

The Development of Japan. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. 3rd edition revised. Macmillan Co. \$2.00.

Extraterritoriality in Japan. By F. C. Jones. Yale University Press. \$3.00.

THE first of these volumes has stood the test of more than thirteen years and needs no word of commendation from me. It contains, in most compact form, the material which everyone should possess in order to understand how Japan has come to be what she is today—one of the most progressive, enlightened and vigorous nations on the planet. It helps us, moreover, to appreciate the present struggle between the military and the civil power. Few things perplex and trouble liberally-minded people more than to find the new Japan threatening the whole structure which at last we have begun to build for maintaining peace in the world. The long regime of the Tokogawa Shogunate, the *samurai* tradition, the fear of being crowded out by larger nations, the intensity of the struggle to develop her new institutions—all these and other factors, so simply and adequately set forth by Professor Latourette, help us at least to understand if not to extenuate Japan's present policy in Manchuria. We need to have just such an insight as this book gives us if we are to judge rightly Japan's actions today.

The issue of extraterritoriality having been fought out to its final extinction in Japan, Dr. Jones's book may seem less relevant for the student of affairs. But we need scarcely remind ourselves that this is one of the most living issues across the China Sea. What happened in Japan has volumes of meaning for all parties to the discussion now in progress in China. It is not unlikely that when the new government is established and when once Manchuria slips into the background, extraterritoriality will suddenly appear in the headlines. Will China denounce the treaties? Will a compromise be effected? Will Europe and America yield with the best grace they can command?

The fact that, in its inception, the system was a means of removing rather than of creating difficulty and anti-foreign feeling is emphasized, but it is also exposed as irrelevant to the later

situation which was exactly the opposite. The relation of tariff autonomy to the judicial issue is clearly treated. Both cases are parallel to that of China today. The outstanding difference is the extent to which the authority of the central government had become effective in the country. It is this uncertainty, more than any other single thing, which holds up the diplomatic procedure in China.

The story of the tedious negotiations for treaty revision, interrupted repeatedly by Cabinet crises and many other causes, is told in a matter-of-fact way. The long patience exercised seems in strange contrast to the rushing tactics which have so often led to the breakdown of negotiations and to war itself. Of the situation in 1887 our author writes: "So bitter was the feeling aroused, that the minister who displayed any signs of agreement to what the people considered an unequal treaty might even be menaced with assassination." Yet it was not until seven years later that the Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed by which extraterritoriality was abolished. Even then the British Government acted "counter to the strongly expressed opinion of practically all the residents in the Treaty Ports." One has a strong suspicion that when a solution is at last found in China a similar fact will have to be recorded.

No one who looks back upon the whole of the negotiations in the light of later events can question the great advantages reaped by foreign interests in Japan through their satisfactory termination. An era of genuine coöperation and of mutual respect was inaugurated and much friction was eliminated. It is not, of course, certain that a similar result would follow in China today—but that is not the field for a reviewer's speculations. It is his privilege, though, to call attention to this illuminating story as a valuable handbook for those who seek light upon what to do and what not to do in regard to extraterritoriality in China today.

HENRY T. HODGKIN

White and Black Equal Brown

Brown America. By Edwin R. Embree. Viking Press. \$2.50.

ALREADY of mixed blood to the extent of twenty-five or fifty percent—Negro, white, and Indian—the black race in America is destined speedily to disappear, according to the author of *Brown America*. Instead of being swallowed up in the white, as some have feared, it will gradually be changed to brown, as its mingled strains become increasingly diffused. A few generations, Mr. Embree thinks, will suffice to effect the change.

A picturesque and interesting speculation, and perhaps not improbable. Its chief value in this case, however, is that it affords an apt pretext for an unusually readable, sound, human book about America's major race problem. For the future of the Negro is a matter of immediate and practical importance; and it is to the present that the author gives major attention, with due regard, of course, to the historical background against which the present stands.

Brown America is an interesting book, as would be any faithful record of the amazing odyssey of the Negro from African barbarism to American slavery, and thence to freedom and culture, all within the brief span of two centuries. It is a valuable story, too, because it balances so fairly the lights and shadows of fact, encouraging on the one hand, warning and sometimes calmly indicting on the other.

On the credit side the author puts the Negro's "native dignity, grace, and good manners"; his peculiar contributions to American life, of laughter and music and art; his industry and skill; his

rapid progress, since emancipation, in education, achievement, and material prosperity; his outstanding personalities. On the other side he frankly admits that "the race as a whole is still below a decent average of living conditions and achievement," beset with poverty, illiteracy and crime, its progress retarded by the arbitrary and needless denial of respect and opportunity.

As to the Negro's future, the author tells us he is "a confirmed optimist." The problem, he says, "is no longer among the unduly difficult questions of the nation." Attitudes in the South "are changing with lightning rapidity," he assures us, "with hundreds and thousands of white men aroused to demand fair play for the Negro." Credit for these changes he gives in considerable part to the South's many interracial committees.

No small part of the charm of the book is its delightful and significant biographical sketches. Particularly engaging is that of the author's grandfather, the Rev. John G. Fee, a native Kentuckian, but an earnest and untiring abolitionist, and the founder of Berea College. Twenty-two times mobbed for his convictions, he was never seriously hurt, chiefly because of his conscientious non-resistance which so often confounded and disarmed his adversaries.

The author of *Brown America* is a Kentuckian, though now a resident of Chicago and president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. In his present book he has made a worthy contribution to the cause of interracial understanding.

R. B. ELEAZER

Nationalism: Theory and Practice

Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism. By R. R. Ergang. Columbia University Press. \$4.50.

Nationalism in Modern Finland. By John H. Wuorinen. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

RECENTLY an eminent German historian called for a series of studies on the origin and development of nationalism. This series is already in the making under the guidance of Professor Hayes of Columbia University. Half a dozen studies have appeared and more are in the offing. These two books are the latest contributions.

Ergang's study goes back to eighteenth-century Germany and examines the voluminous writings of Herder for nationalist theory. Herder's contribution to German nationalism lay in his emphasis of language and culture; politics interested him hardly at all. He believed that world civilization would be greatly benefited if each nation would develop its own culture to the full. Imperialism had a bitter foe in him. His influence among Germanic and Slavic peoples was very great and on the whole beneficial. Even when nationalism became political and imperial, cultural nationalism persisted and continues today not only in the great nations, but also in the many *irredenta* of Europe.

Wuorinen's work had to be done largely in Finland. It is an interesting illustration of the power of nationalism, which kept alive the feeling of separateness among the Finns under Sweden and Russia and finally created an independent state. The study also demonstrates how readily nationalism dominates the life of a people, including its education, scholarship, the press, labor, etc. Incidentally, it also shows the influence of Herder on Finland.

Both of these books are first-rate, scholarly studies, well documented. They ought not to be missed by those who wish to understand the pressing problems of nationalism.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

American Economy in The World Scene

America Weighs Her Gold. By James Harvey Rogers. Yale University Press. \$2.50.

American Industry in Europe. By Frank A. Southard, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Co. \$3.00.

Unemployment as a World-Problem. By John Maynard Keynes, Karl Pribram, and E. J. Phelan. University of Chicago Press. \$3.00.

OF these three books, all dealing with aspects of the present world situation which are of vital importance to Americans, the most useful and illuminating for the lay mind is Prof. Rogers' *America Weighs Her Gold*. This work is a description, written in popular form and containing excellent charts, of the workings of the international credit system based on the gold standard and an appraisal of its adequacy under present conditions. Whether or not one would agree with Prof. Rogers as to the degree of importance which he attaches to the yellow metal itself, his vivid analysis of the factors responsible for the recent breakdown of the world's credit system is most convincing.

During the decade after the War, the combination of public and private credit advances to Europe, coupled with an expanding export trade at the very moment when the government was erecting the highest tariff wall in American history, resulted in half the world's gold supply flowing into our vaults. Through an unforeseen combination of circumstances, the entire situation precipitated the great American boom of 1928-1929, the collapse of which was primarily responsible for the degree and duration of the world depression. The American policy of fostering foreign trade and investment while preventing payment through the import of goods is perhaps the most colossal manifestation of governmental folly in modern times. It raises fundamental questions as to the competence of the republican form of government to deal with the realities of the contemporary scene, and it makes imperative a radical revision of financial and economic procedures if the social organism is to continue to function. Prof. Rogers suggests that among the essential requirements are abolition of high protective tariffs, revision of the capitalist price system, modification of the war debts, reform of the Federal Reserve System, and consideration of alternatives to the gold system.

If Prof. Rogers' book was timely in the summer of 1931, it is infinitely more timely now. Since it was written Great Britain has gone off the gold standard and Germany has announced her incapacity to continue reparations payments. The credit system of the western world is being weighed in the balance by the resistless march of events. After Lausanne will any government have courage enough to admit that that system has been found wanting?

American Industry in Europe is a comprehensive and reliable survey of the character and extent of American industrial activity in the Old World up to the summer of 1930. In view of the radical changes in some forms of this activity that have taken place during 1931, it is a pity that publication of the study was delayed for a year. Whether or not present trends in financial and economic relations across the Atlantic will greatly alter the character of future American industrial operations in Europe, Mr. Southard's book is valuable as further confirmation of the intention of American industry to regard Europe as an essential part of its producing area and market. European retaliatory tariffs and the collapse of the international credit system may temporarily prevent the full realization of this intention, but the probability is that whatever the future may have in store, the American

industrialist is ingenious enough to discover new ways and means of continuing to lay the economic foundations of a North Atlantic civilization.

In *Unemployment as a World-Problem* (Harris Foundation Lectures 1931), Prof. Karl Pribram of the University of Frankfurt gives a thorough summary of the causes of world unemployment and discusses the value of a number of remedial measures. Prof. Keynes' contribution to this volume of essays is singularly disappointing. Prof. Keynes' panacea for dealing with the depression is to re-establish the volume of investment. Whether or not this is a sound prescription for Great Britain, it seems probable that the results would be exactly the opposite from those desired if it were applied to the United States. The problem in this country is, as Mr. Paul Warburg has pointed out, not to increase the number of invisible producers but to increase the number of invisible consumers. Mr. Phelan's contribution is an estimate, which occasionally becomes an over-estimate, of the part played by the International Labor Office in dealing with unemployment.

FRANCIS P. MILLER

WE RECOMMEND

Paraguay: Its Cultural Heritage, Social Conditions, and Educational Problems. By Arthur E. Elliott. Teachers College, Columbia University. \$2.50. An illuminating and authoritative interpretation of a Southern neighbor.

Documents on International Affairs: 1930. Edited by John W. Wheeler-Bennett. Oxford University Press. \$4.00. An annual volume of reference containing valuable source material concerning reparations, disarmament, etc. Also contains texts of numerous international agreements and other public documents.

Unrest 1931. Edited by Jack Conroy and Ralph Cheyney. Henry Harrison. \$1.75. Most of the so-called "revolutionary" poets are represented in this anthology. Their verse reflects the cry of the radical for social, racial and industrial brotherhood—a decent, civilized world that will not execute Sacco and Vanzetti or imprison Mooney and Billings.

History of Fundamentalism. By Stewart G. Cole. Richard R. Smith. \$2.50. A masterly treatment of the history of frantic orthodoxy in American life in which the social and ethical consequences of religious conservatism are clearly seen, but the social and economic roots of the movement are not so clearly apprehended.

An Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages, 1300-1530. By James Westfall Thompson. Century. 544 pages. \$5.00. This is a continuation of a similar study on the early Middle Ages. It brings together a vast amount of material and illuminates many political movements by social and economic interpretation.

French Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By Roger Soltan. Yale University Press. 500 pages. \$5. More and more the history of thought is finding students among historians. This excellent volume includes not only political, but also religious and social ideas which affected the development of France in the nineteenth century. The book is particularly significant now that France is so much in the foreground of international politics.

Essays in Contemporary Civilization. Edited by C. W. Thomas. Macmillan Co. \$2.50. A symposium of essays by the noble living and the noble dead which gives no real clue to the principle of selection that determined the inclusion of these particular chapters. There are chapters by Robert Millikan, Stuart Chase, Harold Laski, John Dewey, Lowes Dickinson, Bertrand Russell, Everett Dean Martin, and John Truslow Adams. Looking at this collection, one might imagine that the idea of the book is to throw some light upon the contemporary scene, were it not for the fact that scattered among the contemporaries are such papers as Huxley's classic on "Evolution and Ethics," Ruskin's "Lamp of Memory," and Walter Pater's "The Child in the House." Every essay is worth reading, but we cast another vote against symposia when we try to puzzle out just what the editor intended by putting this heterogeneous material between two covers.

CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nicaraguan Elections

FOLLOWING a two-weeks visit to Nicaragua, just terminated, may I send you this word concerning future United States policy with relation to that country?

The plan announced by the State Department to withdraw all United States marines from Nicaragua before the end of 1932 makes it particularly important that the presidential election of October 1932, which apparently will be supervised by United States forces, shall see as candidates the country's strongest men—men who if they attain power can command some considerable measure of popular support.

Prominent members, however, of both Conservative and Liberal parties, as well as Americans long resident in the country, informed me that State Department approval must necessarily be one important factor in determining the choice of candidates. It is common opinion in Nicaragua that the parties there will not be left free in making their nominations, but must select a candidate who is known to be *persona grata* to the United States Legation.

In the past, unfortunately, State Department approval has fallen on men like Adolfo Diaz, to cite only one example, who in spite of, or perhaps because of a pro-intervention attitude amounting to servility, did not command sufficient support in Nicaragua itself to maintain himself in power unaided. Consequently, when threatened with opposition, he called for the landing of American marines, involving the United States in an intervention which has proved costly in lives, money and prestige. Past experience therefore suggests that the interjection of State Department influence in the choice of Nicaragua candidates has not proved ultimately beneficial either to Nicaragua or to the United States, and that in the 1932 campaign also it may have unfortunate results.

For these reasons, many Nicaraguans feel that a declaration from the Department of State which makes clear the interest of the United States government in the complete freedom of party nominations, those of minority political groups as well as of the two principal parties, would materially forward the possibility of candidates being selected for their ability and political strength in Nicaragua, rather than for their supposed skill in courting the favor of our legation in Managua.

To assure adequate electoral freedom in Nicaragua, another point also seems pertinent. Many observers are convinced that the best promise for diminishing the intense and bitter rivalry be-

tween the two major parties, which has been the curse of Nicaragua and the cause of many revolutions, lies in the rise of other parties. However, the policy followed in the supervision of elections by United States forces has apparently been to maintain the rivalry between the two traditional parties and to discourage third-party movements. In the presidential elections of 1928, the two major parties alone were permitted to present candidates.

Many with whom I talked during this last visit—Conservatives, Liberals and Nationalists—believe that to permit a more accurate expression of the popular will in the 1932 presidential elections, more reasonable provisions should be adopted relative to the formation of third parties, eliminating the literacy provision for petitions, and probably reducing the required percentage of signatures from ten percent to five percent. In the determination of these points, State Department influence through the machinery of election supervision, is expected to be decisive.

May I therefore urge consideration of these suggestions concerning our immediate future policy:

1. A prompt declaration by the State Department of a sincere hands-off policy with regard to party nominations.
2. The granting to all parties of reasonable opportunity to take part in the 1932 campaign.

San Jose, Costa Rica

CHARLES A. THOMSON

Disarm the Campus

IN view of the growing sentiment in favor of disarmament in this country, it is interesting to note the renewal of discussion concerning the place of the R. O. T. C. on the college campus. Since military training must be provided in land-grant colleges, the major arguments which have been made in the past against military training have been directed toward its compulsory features. The University of Wisconsin was among the first colleges in this country to eliminate the compulsory provision from R. O. T. C. courses, and it is now an optional course there.

However, a large number of students on the Wisconsin campus feel that even optional military training has no place in the college curriculum. The signing of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and the development of organizations for the settlement of international disputes have eliminated the urgency for an elaborate national defense program, and for this reason an effort is being made to eliminate this remnant of the war spirit from our colleges.

At a recent mass meeting sponsored by the Social Problems Club, W. E. Chalmers, of the Economics Department, addressed a group of students on the program which might be followed in "disarming the campus."

Mr. Chalmers recommended among other things that courses in R. O. T. C. work be open only to students who have already taken a course in international problems, and that such work be put on the same basis as other university courses, from which students may withdraw if they wish to lose credits already made. Mr. Chalmers also suggested that the first two years of R. O. T. C. work should not be considered a substitute for physical training credit and that no university credit should be given for the last two years of the military course. He expressed the opinion that students should be more concerned with the solution of international problems than with the R. O. T. C., which is merely a part of the country's program of national preparedness.

It is hoped that faculty approval of this program will be secured, so that war psychology may be eliminated from the campus.

Madison, Wis.

IRVIN S. CORMAN

Urgent Relief Needed

MY I ask you to publish the enclosed telegram from James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches, regarding the urgent need of clothing and food in the bituminous coal fields.

Miss Olive Van Horn,

Coal Areas Relief, Federal Council of Churches,
105 East 22nd St., New York, N. Y.

Tour of inspection coal fields West Virginia and Kentucky reveals alarming need at least twenty-five thousand children food and warm clothing. Thousands unable attend school. Saw children barefoot in snow. Some evicted families living in tents. Sickness will take toll unless clothes for all ages is supplied at once especially children's clothing and shoes also warm blankets quilts. Hot lunches served by Quakers. Many schools already show results in improved health. Thousands pre-school children and babies without milk. More money needed at once as winter weather grips mountain regions. Please send out wide appeal. Urgent.

James Myers.

Clothing should be shipped (prepaid) from the East to American Friends Service Committee, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and from the West to American Friends Service Committee, Morgantown, West Virginia.

Checks should be made out and mailed to Olive Van Horn, Treasurer, Coal Areas Relief, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. All funds will be forwarded to the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), for relief in the field.

New York City.

Olive Van Horn

Victory for the Untouchables

THE untouchables in India are now demanding to be allowed to bathe in the Ganges, from the most sacred part of the bank. This report recalls a remarkable story told in Trinity Church by the Rev. C. F. Andrews when he was in Boston about two years ago.

In the village of Vykom, the untouchables were forbidden to pass through a certain road, which ran near the temples. Some progressive Indians determined to defy the restriction. One morning they marched in procession down this road, Brahmins and untouchables side by side. Of course these were not orthodox Brahmins, but Gandhi's followers. The orthodox Brahmins came out and beat them up. These rebels against tradition took it without resistance or complaint, but the next morning they came again, and were again beaten up. This procedure was repeated day after day. The orthodox Brahmins called in the police and had them arrested and sent to prison; but hundreds more continued to come. Finally, for fear the prisons would become overcrowded, the government put a cordon of police across the road. Gandhi advised his followers to come and stand every day and all day in front of the cordon, in the attitude of prayer. They did so, for twelve hours daily, in six-hour shifts. Mr. Andrews said, "the orthodox Brahmins still occasionally beat them, but they gradually grew ashamed, and the villagers loved them more and more."

The rainy season came, and the low-lying road became full of water. The police mounted guard in flat-bottomed boats, but Gandhi's followers stood in the water up to their waists, and finally up to their necks. The six-hour shifts were reduced to three; but many of them lost their health for life, before the floods subsided. At last, after a year and four months, the orthodox

F i n d i n g s

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Not Almost But Entirely!

With what Mr. Thomas L. Chadbourne believes was "almost malign stupidity," the Tariff Act of 1930 "struck at those countries that are our closest neighbors, our best customers, and, by every force of tradition, our friends and partners."—*Lawrence Stafford, Virginia Quarterly Review, January, 1932.*

Notice the Combination

I must take the extreme stand that I shall never participate in any war, no matter what its provocation may be. There is nothing worth fighting for. Neither shall I support war in any sense. I am a pacifist—and a Legionnaire!—*J. Lester Hankins, in Zion's Herald, November 4, 1931.*

Weakest After Spending the Most!

We are the richest country in the world and are rapidly, from a military sense, becoming one of the weakest. We are advertising ourselves as offering an opportunity for loot that holds no comparison to anything heretofore undertaken. Are we to rely solely upon the grace of God, or are we to try and be helpful in the matter and do something of our own accord?—*L. F. Loree, President, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.*

Those Who Live in Glass Houses

Although it has become a popular fad to pretend that each Congressional session is a public nuisance and a national menace and to make it a conversational scapegoat for private misfortunes and mistakes, we cannot see that business has done much for itself since the Capitol was emptied of its encumbrances last March, or that Congress could have done much worse to the country had it been in session all summer.—*Editorial, The Business Week, December 23, 1931.*

The Higher Americanism

I am tired of it, and so I hope, kind reader, are you. I am tired of "service," tired of conferences, tired of arrogant and mischievous advertisers, of boasting the Jones, of football crowds, of the ugliness and congestion of the Albany Post Road, of imperious long-distance telephone calls, of "technical adjustments," subways, gin parties, wisecracks, of manifestos from Messrs. Ford, Schwab, and Julius Klein, of being frantically and energetically busy doing nothing. A good friend and a sound scholar reported to me recently that ideas never come to him when he drives a car, whereas they come flooding in when he walks along country lanes. When I go to Mexico or Europe I catch my stride as a human being; here, with the American formula after me like a very hound of the Baskervilles, I seldom have time to catch it. Well, I am resolved to attempt its capture in this my native land. . . . America is too fine a land to be longer drugged by the infantile slogans and dazzled by the glittering gadgets of shoddy speculators. It deserves a civilization as great as its majestic distances, its rolling prairies, its mighty rivers, and massed sierras.—*Stuart Chase in Harpers Magazine, December, 1931.*

An Officer Opposes Compulsory R. O. T. C.

Compulsion is not the spirit of the age (or of any age?) so it is doubtful if the board of trustees of the college is conferring any great boon upon this department by requiring this training. The mere fact that we have great difficulty each year in getting twelve to fifteen suitable men to take up the advanced course out of a cadet corps of over three hundred should indicate that most of the basic students are anxious to lay aside the "army" or the "war," as it is variously called. Therefore, I believe that if the training were not compulsory it would not be as distasteful to all concerned.—*Anonymous First Lieutenant, Coast Artillery Journal, Nov.-Dec., 1931, p. 522.*

Echoes from a Second Officer

Except in those institutions which are essentially military in character and which are conducted strictly as military schools, compulsion has no place in peacetime military training in the United States. Compulsion is in direct opposition to all American tradition, for our people as a nation have always been opposed to any form of compulsory military service or training in time of peace. But if there is to be any compulsory military training it should be universal in its application. Why limit it solely to college students, and then only to the students of land-grant colleges? Those particular students are bound to feel that they have been made the victims of discrimination and therefore will bear resentment against any form of military training. This resentment in turn will certainly defeat the purpose of R. O. T. C. instruction, which is intended to interest the college-trained citizen in the matter of national preparedness.—*Anonymous Officer, Coast Artillery Journal, Nov.-Dec., 1931, p. 524.*

Rebuttal by a Third Officer

The author, infected by the undisciplined spirit of the day, evinces a sympathy for the spirit of resistance to compulsory attendance. The compulsion itself is of priceless value in forcing to the thoughtless and undeveloped undergraduate mind a consideration of the American's duty to his country. Any amount of inviting, or of pleading, for such attention would be useless. There is a consequent duty devolving upon the instructor personnel. That is to introduce into the student mind a reasoned comprehension of the need of compulsion, and of the country's right to act upon that need. . . . In conclusion, I fear the author fails to understand the fundamental spirit of our system of national defense. Certainly, his principles as an officer consecrated to the national defense are not securely rooted, else he would not so easily sympathize with resistance to military training—a resistance born not of conviction, but of our inherent national laziness and indifference toward civic duty. One of the most vital functions of Regular Army personnel on R. O. T. C. duty is to dissipate such resistance in such a fashion as to teach civic obligation and develop friends of national preparedness.—*Anonymous Officer, Coast Artillery Journal, Nov.-Dec., 1931, p. 525, 526.*

Brahmins gave in. They sent away the police and said, "We cannot stand this any longer. You may pass through the road."

The struggle had been watched with great interest all over India. "Their bravery and their victory," said Mr. Andrews, "have opened to the untouchables not only that one forbidden road, but all the roads that had been forbidden to them in Southern India. Untouchability in India is dying."

Boston, Mass.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A Social Survey

BELIEVING that an honest presentation of facts is necessary to an adequate solution of social and economic problems, eight discussion lectures have been carefully planned by the League for Industrial Democracy on the most peritent and perplexing questions facing America today.

The following cities are sponsoring the lectures: Albany, Ann Arbor, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Hartford, Hammond, Huntington, N. Y., Indianapolis, Lancaster, Lynchburg, New Brunswick, New Haven, Northampton, Paterson, Philadelphia, Providence, Reading, Richmond, Rochester, Schenectady, Springfield, Syracuse, St. Louis, Troy, Utica and Worcester. The New England program, which is typical of the others, is listed below:

Dr. Harry W. Laidler
How America Lives
The Machine Age

Elsie Harper
Unemployment—A Problem
with a Solution

Abram L. Harris
Trends in the Labor Movement
Organization of the Unskilled.
Industrial Unions vs. Craft
Unions

Norman Thomas
What Price Power?
Public Utilities and Public
Ownership

John H. Gray
Behind the Bank Failures
Socialization of Credit

Hubert C. Herring
Facing the Race Question
A Daily Challenge

A. J. Muste
America in an Interdependent
World
Imperialism a Hazard to Peace

Colston Warne
Building a New Society
A Program of Reconstruction

These lectures begin the middle of January.

For further information write to the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Russian Seminar—Summer 1932

Under the leadership of Rev. L. L. Dunnington, of Endion Community Church, Duluth, a group of Americans who wish to find out as much of the truth as possible about the Soviet experiment will be conducted through Russia. Rev. Dunnington lived in Russia for two years following the Revolution in 1917. In 1927 he conducted a small group from the Sherwood Eddy Seminar through the U. S. S. R.

Leaders will be interviewed and factories, schools, museums, prisons, government offices and collective farms will be visited from Leningrad south to the Black Sea. The group will sail on the *Von Steuben* from New York on June 30 and is due back in New York August 20, except for those who wish to spend an

extra ten days in Europe. The cost is \$636, traveling comfortably. Those interested should write Rev. Dunnington, care of the Endion Community Church, Duluth, Minnesota.

A Request

If any of our readers have extra copies of our December, 1931, or January, 1932, issues and wish to dispose of them, we would be grateful if they would return them to our office.

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